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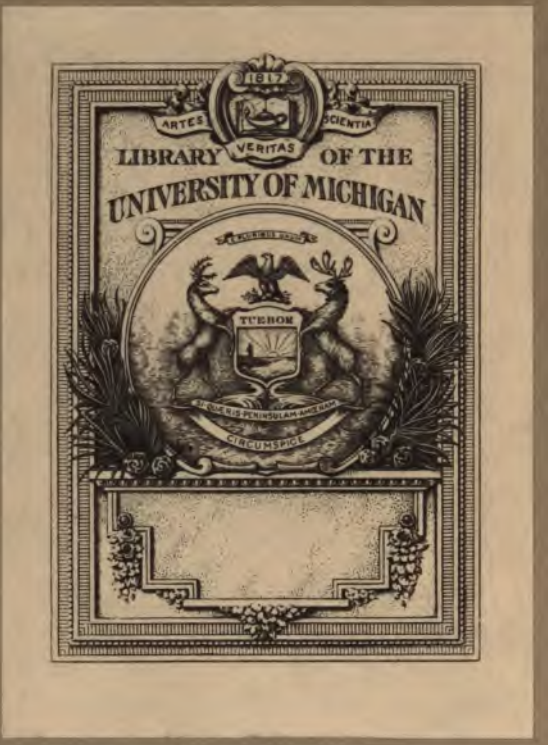
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THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS JACKSON, D.D.

SOMETIME

PRESIDENT OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD,

AND DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.

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A TREATISE

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH AND CHURCH.

IN THREE SECTIONS.

THE TWELFTH BOOK.

TO

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND TRULY WORTHY KNIGHT

SIR RICHARD ANDERSON,

OF PENDLEY IN HERTFORDSHIRE,

The blessings of this life, and of that to come, be multiplied.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

YOUR unfeigned love to learning and true religion, well known by real testimonies to all true lovers of them which have the happiness (as myself for long time have had) to be acquainted with you, drew this short treatise upon its first return unto me (to whom it hath been from its first birth a stranger) to take you for its foster-father. Could it speak for itself, it would, I am persuaded, complain of wrong, if I should direct it to seek another patron, being not acquainted with any family which bears a more lively image of a well ordered church than your family doth. Nor is there any other to whom I more heartily wish all furtherance in good beginnings and proceedings than I do to yours, and to that honourable family unto which you are happily united. Of this my desire, and of my best respect unto yourself and to your noble lady, I have no better token for the present, than this Treatise of the holy Catholic Faith and church. Thus commending both of you, with all yours, and it, unto the blessing of Him who is the sole fountain of faith, and head of the holy catholic church, I take my leave, and rest,

Yours ever, in the surest bonds
of sincere love and observance,

THOMAS JACKSON.

From my vicarage in Newcastle upon Tyne,
this first of January, 1626.

Courteous and Christian Reader.

THE sum of this treatise was delivered in Catechism Lectures for the benefit of younger students in Pembroke college in Oxon, at the request of the master of that society, my reverend and worthy friend, and of some other good friends; to whose religious desires my hope was to have given better satisfaction, if my continuance in that ancient and sweet nursery of learning had been longer, or my studies there less interrupted with other occasions. But God be praised, that college hath been furnished since with one of their own body, of whose learned and polite labours, I hope one day to be, with others, a partaker. This Treatise, as now it is, hath been for the most part since, in the hands of others, being committed by me to the perusal of that great light of the northern parts, my then reverend and dearest friend, doctor Birkhead, from whose judicious censure I hoped then this and other of my labours should have received some perfection, and I much comfort from his company. But it pleased the Lord (whose good pleasure we must obey, not question) to call him from us, (no doubt to his greater good, though to the greater loss and sorrow of every true member of the English church which knew him,) before it was my hap (being then absent from those parts) to hear from him, or speak with him. Since his death, it hath passed through many hands, but all, as it seems, good friends, in that it returns unto me entire: and from it, as it is, I hope, no orthodox reader shall receive any discontent, nor any adversaries of the truth much advantage. Wherein it is for the matter deficient, or not so fully expressed, I shall have opportunity, whether by the advice of friends, or exceptions of the adversary, to amend or enlarge in other treatises of the same argument, which (by God's assistance) shall shortly be communicated to thee. And for this reason, in part, I have been the more willing to have it published at this time.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

THOMAS JACKSON.

A TREATISE

OF THE

HOLY CATHOLIC FAITH AND CHURCH.

BOOK XII.

SECTION I.

IN the Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, a work undertaken by me long ago, I did sequester four points from the body of that intended work, now almost finished.

The first was, the doctrine of the holy and blessed Trinity, which I reserved for the last part of my labours, to be set down by way of prayer or soliloquies, as being an argument, in my judgment, both then and now, more fit for meditation than for controversy or scholastic discourse.

The second point was, the article of the holy catholic church.

The third, the communion of saints.

The fourth, the forgiveness of sins.

Points, which I knew not how to handle in that rank and order as they are propounded unto us in the Creed, without manifest interruption of my intended method, which I endeavoured should be continuate, each latter part immediately issuing out of the former Nor could I find a commodious entrance i article of Christ's coming to judge as well t

the living, before I had treated of the resurrection of the dead. Nor could I finish what I had to say, or
810 what was to be said, concerning the last judgment itself, without some explication of the sentence to be awarded; and that is, life everlasting to all true believers, and everlasting death to the disobedient and unbelievers. So then the articles of the holy catholic church, of the communion of saints, of the forgiveness of sins, have been out of choice and intended method left altogether untouched, reserved for peculiar treatises.

CHAP. I.

That it is easier to oppose than to answer a Romanist in this argument of the church. The author's method for meeting with wrangling sophisms.

First, then, of the holy catholic church. An argument fitting for these times, being specially insisted upon and enlarged by priests and Jesuits to our prejudice, they well perceiving their intricate disputes and sophistical discourses in this point to be the only net which Peter's pretended successors have left them for catching silly and uncatechised souls, or for entangling men of deep understanding, but of deeper discontent or dislike with their present governors or dispensers of preferment. For unto men, either not misled by discontented passion, or otherwise not uncapable of sound reason, it might easily appear, that there is no heresy at this day maintained in Christendom (at least so generally) which doth either so highly offend God and his Christ, or so grievously disturb the public peace of Christ's church, or so desperately endanger the soul of every one that subscribes unto it, as this heresy concerning the transcendent authority

of the visible Romish church. Howbeit, I must confess, it is a great deal easier to discover their blasphemies and refute their heresies, to pity the stupidity of some, or to deride the petulancy or rashness of others, than to avoid the contrary errors into which some reformed writers of good note have fallen; some, through mere eagerness of opposition, others, through weakness and want of arts. And no marvel; for there is nothing which sooner or faster leads artists themselves into error than identity of names or words, including in them diversity of significations or importances.

2. The divers significations of one and the same word may be either equivocal or analogical, or a medley of both. Be the diversity of this or that kind, or of what kind it may be, until the difference betwixt them be exactly notified or unfolded by some commodious distinction or artificial explication, they are apt to bring forth seeds of such endless quarrels betwixt controversy writers, as grounds and tenements not well bounded or surveyed always breed betwixt greedy and wrangling neighbours: as in the one case each man is prone to trespass upon his neighbour's possession, so in the other, each several signification or importance is always encroaching upon the attributes or prerogatives which most properly appertain to some other more prime and principal. Now there is no word or term used either in any scientifical, moral, or popular discourse, which hath so many, so much different significations or importances, as the word *church* hath, whether we take it in the Greek, Latin, or English.

3. For preventing the inconveniences whereunto the multiplicity and diversity of its significations or
ceptions expose us, the best remedy we car
will be, in the first place, to seek out th

the nature at least of the principal *analogatum*, that
811 is, of the church, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, to take a true terrier or survey of the attributes, prerogatives, or royalties which belong either solely or principally unto it: in the second place, to value the other significations or importances, and rate their several attributes or properties by the nearness or remoteness of their affinity with it, or reference unto it.

Before we come to a perfect view of the nature or properties of that church which is entitled *holy* and *catholic*, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, we must inquire the nature or definition of *a church* in general, or as it is abstracted from true holiness or universality. For these are the proper and formal differences of the church, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, that is, of the principal *analogatum* comprehended under this word or name, *church*, taking it in his universal or amplest signification.

CHAP. II.

The definition of the church in general, gathered from the divers sorts of union between bodies natural, artificial, or civil.

1. CONCERNING the name, it shall suffice to observe thus much only *in transitu*, or by way of entry or passage into the matter itself, signified by this name. The Greek ἐκκλησία, or συναγωγὴ, and the English word *church*, do not differ at all in their grammatical signification or importance: and from so much of their signification or importance as is only pertinent to our present inquisition, the Latin *concio* doth no way differ; for all of them signify a certain congregation or company of men. In the manner how they come to signify one and the same thing, this difference perhaps may be observed: the Greek ἐκκλησία and συνα-

γωγὴ do in the first place, or in their radical propriety, signify the persons met together or assembled; in the second, or derivative signification, they import the place appointed for their meeting or assembly, which in Latin we properly call *ædem aut templum*, "a sacred house or temple." To this latter signification of ἐκκλησία or συναγωγὴ, the Latin *concio*, which answers most exactly to their prime and radical signification, is not flexible: for *concio* (as far as I have observed) is never taken *pro loco aut æde ubi concio celebratur*, for the place or house wherein the assembly is, but usually for any speech or oration made unto the people assembled, or for the place wherein the orator or speaker stands[a]. On the contrary, the English *church*[b] doth in the first place signify *ædem* or *templum*, the *place*, *house*, or *palace* of the assembly; and in the second place it comes to signify or import as much as ἐκκλησία, συναγωγὴ, or *concio* do in the first place, that is, the *congregation* or *company of men assembled.*

2. Omitting *quid nominis*, the first inquiry must be

[a] *Pro concione* is as much as *pro rostris.*

[b] For this word *church*, whether we do according to the most usual and otherwise most refined dialect of this kingdom pronounce it, or as some other dialects would have it, *kurk*, or as the most ancient dialect sounds it, *kyrke*, all derive their pedigree from the Greek κυριακὴ, which in the first signification is in value the same with βασιλικὴ, that is, the Lord's house or palace. All the difference in the diverse pronunciation of it in our English ariseth from the different manner of pronouncing or expressing the Greek κ or υ, in the Latin, English, or modern tongues. Some expressing κ by the English *k*, others by the Latin *c*, which in English is usually expressed by *ch*, as *Carolus*, in English *Charles*, and *cista*, *a chest*: so likewise κυριακὴ, by like corruption of speech, comes to be *church*. Such as express the Greek κ by the English *k*, and the Greek υ by the Latin or English *v*, pronounce it *kurke*. Such as retaining the true pronunciation of the Greek κ, sound the Greek υ like ι the Latin or English *u*. propagated the name of

quid rei, what is the *summum genus* of the church,
812 indefinitely or generally considered. And this hath presented itself unto us without further search; it is *an assembly* or *congregation of men.*

Omnis ecclesia, omnis concio, est cœtus aut multitudo hominum: Omnis multitudo, omnis cœtus hominum, non est ecclesia, non est concio. "Every church is a congregation or assembly of men: every congregation or assembly of men is not a church."

The next *quere* therefore must be, What it is that doth constitute or formally difference a church, or *concionem legitimam*, or an ecclesiastic congregation, or at least the *genus proximum* of the church in general, from an assembly taken in general. This cannot be the multitude or number of persons assembled, for these are ofttimes greater at a horse-race, bowling, shooting, bull-baiting, or other like concourses of people, (which no man would call *concionem legitimam*, or *ecclesiam*,) than in those meetings which we properly call *conciones*, *ecclesias*, or *churches*. Secondly, that which formally differenceth a church generally considered from an ordinary assembly or congregation, is not *juxta positio*, no vicinity or union merely local of the parties so assembled: for as the multitude, so the throng may be greater at a stage-play than at a sermon or ecclesiastical congregation; and thickest crowds least participate of the nature of *a church* or *concio*.

3. Every church herein exceeds an ordinary assembly or multitude, in that it is a society of men, or corporation; and every corporation, or society corporate, supposeth an union more than merely local between the members, an unity proportionable to the unity of bodies artificial, natural, or vegetable. An assembly or multitude, how great, how close soever, not thus

united or framed into a corporation, or not united by some civil bond, answers in proportion to the Latin *cumulus*, or *acervus*, to an heap or congest of bodies homogeneal and contiguous, but not informated by one and the same form, not animated by one and the same soul or spirit. Every natural body is *ens per se, et omne ens, qua ens, est unum.* An heap or congest is neither *ens* nor *unum* but by accident, or by extrinsical denomination from the identity of place within which the parts or ingredients of it are contained. So that union merely local neither is nor presupposeth any form either natural or artificial whence it floweth. *Quod non est aliquid formatum, non est aliquid vere unum*, "that which hath no set form or fashion, can have no true real unity:" for it is the form of every thing which gives it a distinct entity or unity. That which hath no set form can have no set or proper name whereby to be known; it must be described by addition of quantity: for we do not say *a bread, a earth, a wax*, or the like, as we say *a loaf, a candle*, or *a close;* but *a piece of bread, a piece of wax*, if it be not made up into some certain form.

4. An heap of corn, though every individual part or grain of it be specifically the same, as of wheat, rye, oats, &c., cannot so properly be termed one body, as a ship may be said to be one body, although it consists of individuals or material parts more heterogeneal for their substance or quality, and more dislike in outward form or figure, than rye is from wheat, or oats from barley. The reason is, because the union between the several parts of a ship is much greater and more perfect than the union between the several grains of corn in the same heap. All the material or individual parts of the ship, how different soever in their natural substance, quality, or figure, are all wrought into one arti-

ficial form. If one should have an heap of corn be-
813 queathed by legacy, and particularized by the place wherein it is, and by the measure which it contains, though the heap were dissolved, so the individuals (though put in divers places) remain the same, without any alteration or diminution of their measure or number, the legacy would stand good, and the party unto whom it is bequeathed would sustain no loss; but if the individuals should be successively taken away, and others put in their places to make up the same measure and the same heap (for outward fashion and quantity) which the donor did bequeath, the legacy were lost, if this were done through his default to whom it was bequeathed: for the heap is not the same, unless the individuals be the same, because it hath no form to give it distinct being or union. He that bequeaths a certain measure of corn, though dispersed, is presumed to have bequeathed the same corn, though afterwards it be made into one heap; or, *e contra*, he that bequeaths an heap of corn is presumed to bequeath every individual grain contained in the heap at the time of the bequest, though they be afterward dispersed, or put into several places, before the donee can come to challenge them. But it is not so in a house or ship; for if a man should bequeath a ship by legacy, which afterwards were dissolved, albeit no material part were lost, yet the legacy were lost, because it is not the same body that was bequeathed, as having lost the form.

5. So the lawyers[c] say, *si navis legata, dissoluta sit,*

[c] Aliud enim materia est, aliud species. Cui materia legata est, species ex ea facta non debetur: ut si lana legata est, deinde vestis fiat, aut ex tabulis navis, aut armarium. Similiter traditur, si navis legata dissoluta sit, neque materiam neque navem refectam deberi. — Hottoman. Quæst. illust. quæst. octav. Oper. tom. i. fol. 870.

neque materiam, neque navem refectam deberi. If the ship which is bequeathed by legacy be taken in pieces, neither the materials nor the ship which is made of them is due to the legatee; for the materials were not bequeathed but as united into one form, and the form being lost, the individual bequeathed is lost. Though the same materials were made up again into the like form, yet could it not be reputed the same ship, but another like unto it. But this is to be understood in case the dissolution be made *simul et semel,* all at once; for if a ship bequeathed should before the donee take possession of it be successively repaired, as Theseus's ship was, albeit never a rib or plank or other material did remain the same, yet the form being not dissolved or abolished, the ship should be the same it was; for the new materials, although numerically or perhaps specifically distinct from the former, yet being for use the same as the former were, and holding the same proportion with the whole whereunto they were fitted, do no way dissolve, but rather continue the former unity or identity of form.

6. The same case is clearer in bodies natural, at least in vegetables: as if a master should bequeath a young tree, not of ten years' growth, unto his servant, giving him leave to cut it down, or to let it stand as long as he pleased; though it should stand threescore years before he cut it down, yet could no man except that it was not the same tree which was bequeathed, albeit never a material part could be thought to remain the same it was when the tree was given; for albeit every material part should successively perish, yet inasmuch as others come in their places, altogether as capable of animation, of nutriment, of growth, or augmentation as these were which have perished, the tree or vegetable is still the same: and although many

vegetables *de facto* retain some of the same material parts which they had at their first plantation, yet it is an undoubted maxim in true philosophy, that *ad identitatem corporis vegetabilis non necessario requiritur identitas materiæ*, unto the identity of a body vege-
814 table identity of matter is not necessarily required. But of this point, by God's assistance, more at large in the article of the resurrection.

7. Answerably to these degrees of union between materials or corporal substances, (of which some are united only in place, others by form artificial, or truly physical,) there be as many degrees of union between multitudes, assemblies, or companies of men. Men assembled in a market-place, at some match of sport or merry-meeting, are one multitude, not one body; and for this reason, being once dissolved, remain no more the same company, as having no other bond of unity besides vicinity of place, or union merely local; as no man would say the same company that met at a horserace this or the last year, shall meet the same again the next year; at least, such companies cannot be the same they were, unless the individuals remain the very same. But societies, corporations, or bodies civil, herein resemble bodies natural, that albeit every particular or individual person that met in their common hall or place of assembly this day, be dead within twenty years following, yet the company or corporation shall remain still the same it was. In this sense it is said, that although all men are mortal, yet corporations consisting of mortal men are immortal, because their laws and ordinances are perpetual. The unity of proportion or subordination to the same laws is sufficient to continue the unity or identity of the society or corporation, albeit the parties subordinate do alter, change, or perish.

8. Again, bodies civil, or societies corporate, exceed not only other assemblies of men which resemble heaps or congests, but even artificial or natural bodies, in this; that the union of bodies civil is not dissolved by dissolution of union local, or of continuity or contiguity. The company of stationers, for example, after every man hath repaired to his own home, remains the same it was at their meeting in their common hall; because the union or bond of every member to the same laws and ordinances still remains the same, or because there still remains the same power or authority in their principal governors to call them together again. And in this point they resemble those natural bodies which being resolved into fume or vapour, their fumes or vapours may be recollected again into the same body, without any loss of substance or quantity: as an alchymist would bate but little or nothing in selling the fume or vapour of quicksilver for quicksilver itself. So then unity of laws and ordinances is the life, the soul, and spirit of every corporation or body civil: oath or other obligements to the observation of the same laws, or to the maintenance of privileges bestowed upon the society, are as the nerves or arteries by which motion is conveyed from the head or principal members to every inferior or particular member of the same society. Thus we have found the *genus proximum* of a church considered in general.

CHAP. III.

Of the nature and properties of the church taken in its principal sense. How it is differenced from other bodies civil. Of the peculiar unity which it hath. 815

1. EVERY church, in what usual sense soever it be taken, is a society or body politic; every society or

body politic is not a church: every member of the militant church is ordinarily a member of the Christian commonweal or kingdom wherein he lives; *et e contra*, yet sometime it may fall out, by the interposition of civil juridical sentence, that a man may be no member of the commonweal, and yet remain a member of the church therein contained: as a man condemned to die is disenabled to do any civil act, yet not prohibited to receive the sacraments: others again, cut off from the church, (as persons excommunicated in some sort are,) may be members of the commonweal. That which differenceth the church properly so called from a society or body merely civil, is the diversity of laws and ordinances, and the different manner of union betwixt the members of it. Howbeit a church, a commonweal, or body civil, are not (as the Romanists often dream or presuppose in their arguments brought for the prerogative of the Romish church) two bodies contradistinct or opposite, but rather one body endowed with several powers or perfections. When a kingdom or commonweal becomes a church, it loseth nothing of what it had, but rather acquires a new perfection or accomplishment; the growth or progress is but such as the philosopher notes in men which first live *anima plantæ*, like mere vegetables, then the life of sense, and lastly, the life of reason or understanding. But of this elsewhere.

To find out the nature and properties of the church κατ' ἐξοχὴν, which is the principal *analogatum* and prime subject of this our discourse, the branches of method are but two: the former is to find out the qualification or condition of the parties or members united; the latter is to find out the nature and manner of their union.

2. With the church as it consists of men and angels

we are not to meddle. It suffices us to know, that we are called (as our apostle teacheth us, Heb. xii. 22) *unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels.* What manner of union is between holy men and angels, let it be defined by angels themselves, or at least by men that are their consorts in the blissful vision of God and of his Christ. The subject of our inquiry was and must be that church which consists only of men, and of men considered in that estate which they now have by God being made man. Now albeit such men and angels may be in some respect truly said one society, and though both may be comprehended under some general notion, (whether univocal or analogical,) yet without all question they do not univocally agree in those attributes by which the church in its prime and principal sense is usually set forth in scriptures. We cannot say that the angels are of Christ's flesh and of his bones, as every one is that is a live member of his true church. Yea, though Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and the prophets, and all such as had perfect union with them in holiness of doctrine, life, or discipline, were after death, as well as living, live members of the holy catholic church, yet had they not, whilst they lived on earth, 816
no not always since they lived in bliss, such perfect union (for the manner at least) with Christ, as the saints have which have lived since Christ's incarnation, passion, and resurrection, since which time the patriarchs' and prophets' union with Christ hath been perfected; for it is a point, not of opinion, but of belief, that the Son of God did take our nature upon him, not only to the end that he might lay it down for our ransom, or suffer for us in the flesh, but to the end withal, that having suffered for us according to his

humanity, he might by it unite us unto himself, as he is God, in a more peculiar manner than our human nature, without such union to his human nature, was capable of. As we become righteous by the righteousness which was and is in him as he is man, so must we expect the accomplishment of our future bliss and glory by participation of the fulness of that bliss and glory whereof his humanity is now possessed.

3. By this it is apparent, that every actual member of a Christian commonwealth, or visible church therein contained, is not a true actual member of that church whose nature and definition we now seek, and whereof every one of us desires and must endeavour to be such a member; for he that would make the church thus catholic or universal, as to comprehend every member of a Christian commonweal, seeks to make it not to be holy. Now we must believe it to be as truly holy as it is catholic. Some there be who define this church to be *cœtus predestinatorum*, to be the society or company of the predestinate; but this definition is unperfect; for though it be most true that every live member of the one truly holy and catholic church is predestinated to this life of grace which he now lives, and to the life of glory which he hopes for, yet every one which is already predestinated to the one or to the other life, or rather to both, is not as yet a live member of the one holy and catholic church. Saul was a person predestinated from the womb, but yet no civil member of the militant or visible church, much less any true member of the one holy catholic church, whilst he remained a persecutor of it, and a zealous member or furious instrument of the malignant synagogue. Others define it to be *cœtus evocatorum*, the society or company of such as God hath called out of the world: but because *many are called and few are*

chosen, some others define it to be *cœtus electorum*, the society or company of the elect. Against which definition or description this exception may be taken, that the authors and maintainers of it have entangled this article or point of belief, necessary to all that hope to be saved, with intricate and unnecessary questions concerning predestination or election, with which I do not mean to trouble the reader in the explication of this article. It shall suffice us for the present to consider, that such as God hath predestinated or elected before the foundations of the world, must be wrought and squared by the powerful hand of God, and the effectual working of his Spirit, before they can be fit materials for that edifice or structure which we call *the church*. There must be an alteration in every particular member before it obtain perfect union with the whole body or edifice, from which it receiveth the sweet influence and nutriment of never-fading life. Now what manner of alteration this is, or wherein this qualification of materials fitting for this edifice (which we call *the church*) doth consist, is a query not so necessary in this place.

4. The second general thing proposed, to wit, the 817
manner or union of the members or parts of that society (which is the truly holy and catholic church) will sufficiently determine the former question concerning the qualification of them.

The questions concerning the union are, in general, whether this union come nearer to the nature of union betwixt bodies civil, natural, or artificial; and to this we answer, that each of these unions in part resembles it, all of them do not fully express it; because it is more real, more firm and solid, than any union can be betwixt the parts of bodies civil, artificial, or natural: for this church is a true and real body, consisting of

many parts, all really (though mystically and spiritually) united unto one head; and by their real union with one head, all are truly and really united amongst themselves. The union is wrought between both by a power supernatural, by a skill superartificial, by a wisdom infinitely surmounting the highest reach of human policy. That this church is a true body, the apostle (who in his lifetime was a live member of it, and (under Christ the Head) a chief master-builder for his skill, and yet withal a most painful labourer in fashioning or squaring the parts or materials of this structure) hath left registered: *I now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church*[d]. Coloss. i. 24. Every one then is so far a member of Christ's church, as he is a member of Christ's body. He that is not in some sort a member of Christ's body, can be in no sort a member of his church. He that is a true live member of the one, is a true live member of the other; he that is but an equivocal, analogical, hypocritical, or painted member of the one, is but an equivocal, hypocritical, painted, or analogical member of the other.

5. Now the excellency of the union betwixt Christ and his members, or the members themselves, (and consequently of the members or true parts of the church,) may best be gathered from the union of those things whereby the church or body of Christ is represented or described unto us in holy writ. The church or body of Christ is usually represented unto us by an edifice, as indeed and truth the material temple which Solomon built, and which afterwards was restored, was but a type or emblem of that temple which Christ was to erect unto his Father. Christ himself was the

[d] See Col. i. 18. and Eph. iv. 11, 12, 15, 16.

true temple, and therefore spake no metaphor, but a mystery unto the Jews, when he said, *Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up,* John ii. 19. As it is the king's presence which maketh the court, so it is the extraordinary presence of God which makes the true temple of God. The material temple of Jerusalem was therefore called *the house of God,* because God did therein manifest his glorious presence, and, as it were, keep peculiar residence in it, in respect of other places: *For in Christ* (saith the apostle, Coloss. ii. 9,) *dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* As he is the true temple, because the Godhead dwelleth in him; so all they, and only they, in whom he dwelleth by faith, are true temples of God, and live members of the catholic church. Now there is no union betwixt the parts of bodies artificial, or made by hands, so firm and strong as the union betwixt the parts or materials of a temple or stone building; no union again, 818
betwixt the parts of the body natural, so perfect as the union of life. Hence the apostle St. Peter tells us, that by our access unto Christ by faith, we are made living stones: *As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby: if so be ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious. To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious, ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.* 1 Peter ii. 2—5.

6. Herein this union betwixt the members of the true church or temple of God is truly resembled by the manner of union betwixt bodies politic, or societies corporate, in that local union or vicinity of place is not required to the beginning, to the increase, or accomplishing of this union; for though Christ's man-

hood be in heaven, and we on earth, yet are we true members of *his body, of his flesh, and of his bones,* as truly and as really as the natural parts of our body are said to be our flesh and our bones. *No man* (saith the apostle to the Ephesians, ch. v. 29.) *ever yet hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it*—after what manner?—*even as the Lord the church.* So that every member of the church, or of Christ's body, is more near or dear unto him than our flesh is unto us, and more his own than our flesh is ours. Herein again this union betwixt the members of the true church exceeds all other union of bodies civil, artificial, or natural, that every particular member, once perfectly united unto the whole, becomes immortal in itself; not the whole body or corporation only, but every individual or material part, remains everlastingly the same. The whole body is not the same only by succession or equivalency; as the head, so every member, is translated from death to life; the very selfsame individuals which are in this life perfectly united unto Christ by faith, shall be raised up at the last day unto the life of glory. What it is to be perfectly united unto Christ, or what perfection of union with him may in this life be attained unto, falls not so properly within the compass of this present treatise.

CHAP. IV.

Of the preeminences which the church hath of other bodies or corporations in respect of the Governor of it, and the laws by which it is governed. Of the two attributes, holy *and* catholic.

THIS church or kingdom of Christ hath the preeminence of all other bodies politic, or commonweals, in every respect, in every point any way conducent to their unity, stability, or prosperity. First, for the form

of government it is most excellent. It is a kingdom, and hath but one Head or Governor, and he is truly one, not by succession, but by everlasting continuation of one and the same individual life. Secondly, the laws by which this one kingdom is governed are more excellent in themselves, and more unchangeable, than the laws of any other commonweal or kingdom. Again, the laws of this kingdom be not only the dictates of the eternal God, (for so were the ceremonial or judicial laws of the Jews,) but more than thus, they are the unchangeable copies or expressions of his immutable and most holy will, by whose due observance the true members of this kingdom become like unto him. 819 Thirdly, the obligements or conformity of every citizen or subject unto these laws are far more strict than in any other commonweal or kingdom; for of many privileges and gracious promises which the citizens of this kingdom enjoy, it is not the least, that their everlasting Lawgiver and Governor vouchsafes to write his laws, not in tables of stone, or pillars of brass, but in the hearts of them that are to be governed by them. Now what bond or union betwixt men can be imagined so great as that which the fundamental law of this kingdom, once written in the hearts of men, doth necessarily induce or effect, to wit, that every one should love his Lord and King above all, and love his fellow-citizens as himself: and the execution of this law is the accomplishment of the felicity and prosperity of this kingdom: whoso hath once attained to this perfection doth joy as much in the good things which his fellow-citizen possesseth as in his own good; so that the joy of each one is the joy of all, and the joy of all is the joy of each one.

2. Again, this church or kingdom of Christ herein hath the preeminence for unity above all bodies natural

or artificial, in that it is truly and indissolubly one, not by unity only of the form, or by the continued identity of the head or of some or more of the principal members, but by true unity and individual identity of every integral or material part once perfectly united to the whole. And albeit these parts before their union were heterogeneal, and most dislike, yet after their union they become uniform, and most homogeneal to each other. Though some were Scythians, others Israelites or Arabians, though some were slaves, and other lords, yea, kings and princes, some laymen, some priests, some altogether illiterate, others learned, some old, some young; yet all of them, upon their admission into this church or commonweal, become a royal generation, kings and priests; the least, the meanest or lowest member of this universal church or house of God, is himself a temple of God. Thus the universality doth no way impeach, it doth rather set forth and commend the unity of this church.

3. That which gives this church or kingdom preeminence for unity doth give it likewise preeminence for holiness before all other kingdoms or societies whatsoever, and that is the participation of the Spirit of Christ, or (as the apostle speaks) the participation of the Divine nature, which we have through the operation of the Spirit as agent, but which formally consisteth in or immediately resulteth from that immediate union which we have, through the Spirit's agency, with our Lord and King, who is both God and man. As this word *church*, so the chief attribute of the church (*holy*) is πολυσημὸν, a word of many significations or importances. To set down all the several importances which this word *holy* hath in scripture would be tedious, and in very truth they are scarce comprehensible to human capacity; they may multiply

upon new occasions, and grow divisible *in semper divisibilia.* It shall suffice to know in general, that the divers significations of this word *holy* are of their number which, as Aristotle tells us, *dicuntur ad unum,* and may be as many as the references be unto the principal *analogatum,* from whatsoever subject or matter the reference arise. As for example, *sanitas,* or *healthfulness,* doth properly or formally consist in the right temperature, disposition, or habit of man's body; but some things are said to be *sana, sound,* by perfect analogy or proportion; as we say, *pomum aut nux,* 829
an apple, or a nut, or wood, is sound, which are not rotten, putrefied, or tainted. We say again that *cibus est sanus,* meat is healthful, drink is healthful; that the air wherein we live is healthful; that the diet, that is, *moderatio victus,* that exercise is healthful; and so of every thing that is conducent to the procuration or preservation of health. And sometimes the effects or tokens of internal health do participate of its name; as we say there is *saliva* or *urina sana,* sound or healthful spittle, &c.

4. In like manner holiness doth properly and formally consist in the right temperature or disposition of the soul, specially towards God: the idea or exemplar of which temperature is conformity unto Christ our Head. Now every thing in scripture is termed *holy* that hath any special reference to the producing of this temperature or quality of the soul, whether as a cause, means, or circumstance. So we say the word preached is *holy,* because it is the seed or means of begetting this holiness, and withal, as it is *indicium sanctitatis divinæ,* a sign or character of his holiness whose word it is. In the same respect likewise the sacraments are *holy;* the place wherein the word is preached, or sacraments administered, is likewise termed

holy; the day likewise, or time wherein such assemblies are held, is termed *holy.* But the holiness meant in this article is internal holiness, or purity of mind. Now the fountain of this holiness is in the Head of the church, Christ Jesus, from whose fulness some branch or stream of true and real inherent sanctity of life is derived to every true member of this church. This church itself is not termed holy *a majori parte,* from the greater part only; every member of it is inherently holy. Howbeit this title of *holiness,* though common to all, doth not *ex æquo convenire omnibus,* is not equally communicated unto all, but by intrinsical analogy or proportion; it is more perfect and more pure in such as are already admitted into the church triumphant; it doth rather purify or cleanse such of Christ's members as have their habitation in these houses of clay here on earth, than remain pure and perfect in them. *Recipitur ad modum recipientis,* "It is received according to the quality of the receiver." The same stream or water is not for clearness or other properties the same whilst it runs in a muddy channel, as it is in a conduit of lead, or when it runs upon stone or gravel. *Christ,* saith the apostle, *also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.* Ephes. v. 25—27. Though we be washed with the water of baptism, and with the wine of the eucharist in this life, yet cannot we be so washed or cleansed as to be left without spot, wrinkle, or blemish, until we have put off this earthly tabernacle, either by death, or by that change whereunto all are subject that shall not die. The reason why all must either die or be

changed, is, because *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven;* and the reason of this is, that flesh and blood is not capable of that purity or consummation of holiness, which is as the wedding garment, without which none may enter into those courts of the temple within which the marriage of the Lamb and his spouse be solemnized: or, to give the sum of the apostle's reason in his own words, we must be utterly stripped of the image of the earthly man before we can put on the complete and glorious image of the heavenly: *And as we have borne the image of the* 821
earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. But when shall that be? *When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.* 1 Cor. xv. 49, 54.

5. The title of *catholic,* to my best remembrance, is not expressed in scripture, but often implied in terms equivalent. The church of Christ was first expressly instyled *catholic* by the apostles themselves, or first composers of the Apostles' Creed, especially in opposition to the visible church of the Jews, or rather to this people's factious conceit of the prerogatives which God had bestowed upon their nation; misweening, that the whole family or house of God, the full amplitude of the Messiah's kingdom, should be comprised within the house or family of Abraham, or at least that none should have any title or claim to the kingdom of God, unless he were first admitted to be a member of that visible society which did meet at Jerusalem, as at their common hall, house, or place of parliament. That the church should be thus catholic or universal, or that the Gentiles should be fellowheirs, or joint members of the same body with Abraham's seed, was a secret

not imparted to many before the revelation of the gospel. *For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, if ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward: how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery; (as I wrote afore in few words, whereby, when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ,) which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; that the Gentiles should be fellowheirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.* Ephes. iii. 1—6. St. Peter himself had not fully apprehended this mystery until the Lord awaked him out of this dream by interpreting the vision which he saw concerning this point, Acts x. 15; but seeing the event answerable to God's word, or to the voice which he heard in the vision, he burst out into this confession, ver. 34, 35, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him:* accepted to be a live member of his holy and catholic church, as Cornelius, no question, either at this time or afterwards, was. But the full importance of this term *catholic* is set down, Rev. v. 8, &c. *And the four and twenty elders sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth.*

The branches of this title *catholic* are specially these three: first, God's church is said to be catholic or universal in respect of all places; secondly, in respect of

all sorts and conditions of men, national or personal; thirdly, it is said universal in respect of time. Some of every nation, condition, or state are admitted unto it. Some likewise are admitted in every age or generation of men. From the day wherein the Lord did lay the first foundation or cornerstone in Sion, there have been in one place or other daily additions unto this church, without substraction; continual adgeneration without corruption; and a continual growth or augmentation, without any the least diminution or decay of any true live particle which it had before.

CHAP. V. 822

Containing the frivolous exceptions of cardinal Bellarmine, and some other Romanists, against the former or like description of the true church, or that church which is principally meant in the Apostles' Creed.

1. THIS notification or circumscription of the true church by the true and live mystical body of Christ, is not liable to that exception which Bellarmine and his followers have taken against Calvin's invisible church, as they conceive it; or, in case the same exceptions be taken against the church described or notified in the former chapters, one answer will suffice for both. Their only exception is this: *Primum igitur, quod vera ecclesia sit visibilis probatur primo ex scripturis omnibus, ubicunque invenitur nomen ecclesiæ. Nam semper nomine ecclesiæ visibilis congregatio significatur. Nec unum saltem locum Calvinus proferre potuit protulit, ubi hoc nomen tribueretur congregati visibili.*—Bellarm. de Ecclesia militante, lib. iii.
"That the true church is visible may first
out of all those scriptures in which the
church is found; for by this name a v

gation is always signified. Calvin neither did nor could produce so much as one place wherein the name *church* is bestowed upon any invisible congregation."

2. If his meaning be, that so much of the true church and live mystical body of Christ as is now extant on earth, though altogether unvisible to us, be either excluded or not principally meant in those places of scriptures, creeds, or councils, in which the true church is notified unto us by these or the like attributes, *one*, *holy*, *catholic*, or *apostolic*, it is grossly and apparently false; for all God's promises to the church principally belong to the principal members of it, who are distinctly and individually known to himself only, not so to us; to whom notwithstanding their persons are visible, the profession of their faith is likewise visible. The sincerity of their hearts or faith is to us invisible, and therefore invisible it is to us, whether they be live members of the holy catholic church or no. If his meaning be, that many individuals which are no true live members of the mystical body of Christ be literally comprised under the name and title of *the church*, the allegation, though most true, is very idle and impertinent. For thus the Jew is able to make proof as direct and full as can be required by any ingenuous and learned Christian, that most of those types and prophecies which we allege to evince Jesus the son of Mary to be the Christ and promised Messias, are literally and historically meant and verified, either of the sacrifice of the law, or of God's people; of David, of Solomon, or of some other, &c. All this notwithstanding being granted, doth no way disprove, but rather ratify our application of the same prophecies or sacred passages unto Christ, of whom they are always, in the intention of the Holy Spirit, principally meant, and in whom alone they are exactly fulfilled,

not only according to the mystical, but (for the most part) according to the most exquisite literal sense. Not that either all or most passages of scriptures, which are first literally verified of some other, and after exactly fulfilled in Christ, have, (as some great divines think,) two literal senses, (albeit this may sometimes happen, though very seldom,) but that of 823 one and the same literal sense there may be, and usually are, two or more objects; one, more principal and proper; the other, either less principal or less proper. Thus it always not only is, but of necessity must be, wheresoever the terms wherein it pleaseth the Spirit of God to express himself contain in them a multiplicity of significations or importances, whether equivocal, analogical, or *ad unum*. Now of all terms used in scripture, this word *church*, as was observed before, hath the greatest variety of significations or importances; and by consequence it must have one principal object, of which all the principal attributes or titles of the church are punctually and accurately verified; and other objects less principal, to which, notwithstanding, the same name or titles are in some measure often communicated.

3. Hence it may to the observant reader appear, that Bellarmine's exception or argument against Calvin, which being drawn into form stands thus; 'The word *church*, in scripture, doth always import a visible company of men; therefore it doth not belong to an invisible congregation;' is no better than this, 'The holy ointment did bedew or besprinkle Aaron's garments; *ergo*, it was not poured upon his head, or it did not modify or supple some other parts of his body:' whereas the truth is, unless the ointment had first been plentifully poured upon his head, it could not have run down his neck unto the skirts, or rather the

brims of his vesture. Answerable to this representation, we say that all the glorious prerogatives, titles, or promises, annexed to the church in scriptures, are in the first place, and principally, meant of Christ's live mystical body: but being in abundant measure bestowed on it, they descend by analogy or participation unto all and every one, (that hath put on Christ by profession,) without respect of person, place, or dignity. All the difference in the measure of their participation, or manner of their attribution, ariseth from the divers degrees of similitudes or proportion, which they hold with the actual live members of Christ's mystical body, in matter of faith or conversation. Such as have the true model or draught of that catholic faith without which no man can be saved imprinted in their understandings, albeit not solidly ingrossed or transmitted into their hearts or affections, are to be reputed by us (who understand their external profession better than their inward disposition) true catholics, true members of Christ's body, and heirs of promise[e]; although, in very deed, and in his sight that knows the secrets of men's hearts, many of them be members of Christ's body only in such a sense, as *fœtus conceptus, non animatus*, as an human body shaped or organized, but yet not quickened with the spirit of life, is termed a man.

4. The conclusion touching this point, which Bellarmine and his followers are bound to prove, (if any thing they mean to prove to the purpose,) is this—That under the name or titles of that church, whereunto the assistance of God's Spirit for its direction, or other like prerogatives, is by God's word assured, the visible church, taken in that sense in which they always take it, is either literally and punctually meant, or neces-

[e] See chap. 17. parag. 1.

sarily included. The visible church, in their language, is a society or body ecclesiastic, notoriously known by the site or place of its residence, or by their dignity, order, and offices, which are the perpetual governors of it. *Ecclesia*, saith Bellarmine, *est tam visibilis quam est regnum Galliæ, aut respublica Venetorum.* And again, "that church whereof Christ is King, is as visible in his absence, by the presence of his vicar-824 general, as the kingdom of Naples, in the absence of the king, is by the presence of his viceroy." Unto the attributes or prerogatives bestowed on the church in the Apostles' or Nicene Creed, or unto the promises annexed unto it in the scripture, the visible church, as we say, taken in the Romanist's sense, hath no claim or title, save only in reversion or by reflection: that is, the true mystical body of Christ is only instated in the blessings, prerogatives, or promises made unto the church: from this body, or rather from Christ, which is the Head of it, the said blessings immediately and successively descend in different measure unto the several members of it; or unto such as are no solid members of Christ in practice or conversation, yet true catholics in opinion and love unfeigned unto the catholic faith. And from individuals thus habitually qualified the church visible or representative derives its right and interest in the promises made unto the church, generally or indefinitely taken. Wheresoever *two or three*, thus qualified, *are gathered together in Christ's name*, that is, not for any private ends, or sinister respects, but for mere love of truth, the presence of Christ's Spirit is, by promise, annexed unto them. Though a thousand bishops, prelates, or clerks, not thus qualified, be assembled for their own gain or dignities, or if their consultations be managed by superior power or faction, they have no like interest

in the former promise. For any church visible or representative, whose individuals are not thus far qualified, the greater part whereof for number, or more principal for authority, may be *infideles aut hæretici occulti;* that is, heretics, infidels, or atheists in hearts. To usurp an absolute infallibility in judgment of matters sacred, is no better than blasphemy: for any such church to expect the extraordinary assistance of God's Spirit in their consultations, is but the dregs and relics of Simon Magus's sin. But of the divers acceptions of this word *church*, in what sense it is said visible or invisible, true or false, we are to speak hereafter, sect. 2. chap. 1.

CHAP. VI.

Containing the special points to be believed concerning this article of the one, holy, catholic church. How every one is so to moderate his assent or belief concerning it, that he neither incline unto presumption, nor fall into despair.

1. THE special points which we are in this article to believe are these: first, that as Christ, whilst he lived on earth was a King, albeit his kingdom was not earthly, nor of this world; so he hath still a kingdom, or at least a great part of his kingdom here on earth, the members or citizens of which kingdom, whilst living in this world, are not of this world; their πολιτεύμα (as our apostle speaks) is in heaven; that is, the society or corporation whereof they are actual and live members is translated from earth to heaven, and their demeanour or conversation here on earth must be celestial, and such as becomes the sons of God.

The second, that God or Christ, in the choice or admission of citizens into this celestial corporation, doth not tie himself to any one kingdom, nation, or

province, to any visible society or corporation here on 825
earth. But as heaven itself is alike distant from every part of the earth, so every nation or kingdom of the earth are alike free to stand for or solicit their election or admission unto this heavenly society, which we term *the holy catholic church.* Of these two branches of belief, this third is a necessary consequent, that God hath not bestowed such privileges upon any visible church or ecclesiastical society whatsoever upon the face of the whole earth, as divers founders of colleges in our universities have done upon some grammar schools founded likewise by them. Many have been chosen and admitted for perpetual fellows of the celestial academy, which never were trained up in the doctrine or discipline of the Grecian, English, or Romish church. God is the sole Founder of the universal church, and of every particular true church. As for particular visible churches, all are alike free, all their sons alike capable of admission into the holy catholic church; or if any odds there be, it is in the different measure of their observance of the laws prescribed to all, especially the law of loving God above all in Christ, and of loving others as ourselves for Christ's sake.

2. The last point is, that of all such as are effectually called, or authenticly admitted into this society, none ever revolt again to the synagogue of Satan, or to the world. Their effectual calling and solemn admission makes them such pillars in the house of their God, that they cannot be removed: *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out*

of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name. Rev. iii. 12. So he had said before, ver. 5: *He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.* Wherein this victory consists, and how in this life it may be obtained, are points belonging to another argument, and have been elsewhere discussed at large. That their names who thus overcome, are, whilst they live on earth, written in the book of life, is evident, chapter xx. 12, *the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.* The difference between that part of Christ's church which is triumphant, and that which is militant here on earth, may be resembled by the estate of a visible society or corporation, of which the greater part or principal members live at home in wealth, in peace and quietness, whilst others of the same society sojourn as factors or apprentices in foreign lands, yet certain of their admission to the same privileges which the other enjoy, after they have served out their apprenticeship, and performed all duties and services required by the laws of their corporations.

3. Two questions, or rather two branches of one and the same question, yet remain, which every one that sincerely mindeth matter of salvation, will often make with himself.

First, whether every one that sincerely professeth belief of this article of the holy catholic church, be bound to believe that he himself is a true live member of the same church.

The second, whether every one which professeth this article, be bound to believe that there is a true

possibility left him by the Founder of this church or 826
kingdom, that he may in good time become a true and live member of it.

Unto the latter question, my answer shall be out of the words of a woman to her husband distrusting God's love and favour towards them, whose words became canonical scripture: *We shall surely die, said Manoah unto his wife, because we have seen God. But his wife said unto him, If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt offering and a meat offering at our hands, neither would he have shewed us all these things, nor would as at this time have told us such things as these.* Judges xiii. 22, 23. All and every one ought to be assured, that if the Lord had any purpose to exclude them from being live members of this holy and catholic faith, he would not so often, so lovingly, invite them by the preaching of the word and exhibition of his holy sacraments; all which he mightily profanes, whosoever otherwise receives them than as undoubted pledges of God's love and favour unto him in particular.

4. To the former question, the answer is negative. All are not bound to believe that they are actual or real members of the catholic church. For none can truly believe thus much of himself, but he that hath made his election sure, and is certain that *his name is written in the book of life.* Now, though it be most true, that whosoever is elect, was elected from all eternity; whosoever is reprobated, was reprobated from all eternity; yet will it not hence follow, that every man is at all times either in the absolute state of election and salvation, or in the absolute state of reprobation and damnation. This is too desperate a division to put novices in faith upon it, a cruel rack for tender consciences. The best advice which I can

in this point give, is, that no man, especially no novice in faith, how strong a disputant soever he be, seek to wind himself into this catholic church by strength of syllogism, lest Satan thence take occasion to wrest his hopes out of his hands by the same or like engine. The judicious reader is to take further notice, that many syllogisms, which go current amongst some good divines, have many foul, though secret, flaws, as hard to be espied in this subject of reprobation, election, and the like, as in any other, for these are hardly fashioned into syllogistical form. Many propositions are often in vulgar matters taken for universal, when they are but indefinite. First, to instance in a subject wherein the fallacy is more gross, and more easy to be discerned:

Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuisse animal generosum, is verum dicit: at quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuisse Bucephalum, dicit Alexandrum fuisse animal generosum: ergo, Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuisse Bucephalum, is verum dicit.

'Whosoever saith Alexander the Great was a generous creature, saith true: but he that saith Alexander was Bucephalus, saith Alexander was a generous creature: therefore, Whosoever saith Alexander was Bucephalus, saith true.'

Others perhaps may answer otherwise; but the only flaw in this syllogism, if we examine it by the rules of art, is, that the major proposition is indefinite, although it bear in front a goodly show of an universal note. But how large soever the note of universality be, unless it do *plene afficere medium terminum*, it leaves the
827 proposition as indefinite as it found it. Now the *medius terminus* in the former syllogism is *animal generosum*. And to make the former proposition universal, the note of universality should have been added to *animal gene-*

rosum; as thus: *Quicunque dicit Alexandrum fuisse animal quodvis generosum, is verum dicit. At qui dicit Alexandrum fuisse Bucephalum, dicit Alexandrum fuisse animal quoddam generosum.* Here had been *dictum de omni, quodvis animal de quodam animali:* the syllogism for its form had been true, but the major proposition had been apparently false; for Alexander was not a very generous creature, or a generous creature of every kind. The fallacy is the same, though not so easily discerned, in these two syllogisms following:

'Whosoever mortifies the deeds of the body by the Spirit is certain of life: but I mortify the deeds of the body by the Spirit: therefore, I am an actual and live member of the holy catholic church, assured of salvation.'

The universal note, *whosoever*, doth not *plene afficere medium terminum*, which is *mortification*, which is in itself a term indefinite, and hath many degrees or parts. To make the proposition universal or concludent, we should say thus:

'Whosoever doth in any sort mortify the deeds of the body is a live member of the catholic church: but I do in some sort mortify the deeds of the body: *ergo*, I am a live member of the catholic church.'

The form of this syllogism is true, but now the major is apparently false, otherwise, he that would admit of this proposition or conclusion in time of prosperity, or in speculations abstracted from cogitations of sins past or present, the same party, in consciousness of actual sin or grievous temptations, would yield to the premises and conclusion following:

'Whosoever lives after the flesh shall die, and is utterly excluded from being a live member of the holy and catholic church: But I have lived and do live after

the flesh: *ergo*, I am but dead and lost, I shall never be a live member of the holy and catholic church.'

These two propositions, 'Whosoever lives after the flesh shall die;' 'Whosoever doth mortify the deeds of the body by the Spirit shall live;' if we resolve them rightly, are in value thus much:

1. There is a degree or measure of mortification whereunto whosoever doth attain is forthwith translated from death to life, and becomes a live member of the holy catholic church, a perpetual citizen of the Jerusalem which is above, without all danger of disenfranchisement.

2. There is a degree or measure of fleshly or carnal living which whoso doth in this life reach unto doth thereby, without God's extraordinary mercy, exclude himself from the communion of saints, or society of the holy church.

So that both propositions are universal in respect of the persons, both indefinite in respect of the thing itself, to wit, mortification or carnal living. This degree or measure of mortification may be accomplished in this life: but who they be that have attained to this perfect mortification, or when they attain thereunto, must be left to the judgment of God, and information of their own consciences. The safest rule for rectification of our consciences in this point is that of St. Peter: ***Brethren, give diligence to***
828 ***make your calling and election sure***, 2 Peter i. 10. The means to make our election sure are there at large prescribed by him. The brief or abstract of it is this; to follow those practices which our conscience, enlightened by the light of God's word, shall approve. For a good conscience is the mouth of the Spirit, and will one time or other speak words of comfort to every one that hath it, and seeks to keep it. And one

voluntary testimony of it, grounded upon experience or constancy of good thoughts, good deeds, or resolutions, is worth a thousand testimonies or confessions racked from the speculative understanding by force of syllogism.

SECTION II.

Of the visible Church in general. Of its principal Attributes or Privileges.

CHAP. VII.

Of the church militant and triumphant. In what sense it is said that the true church is invisible.

1. SEEING our purpose in the former treatise was only to find out the formal difference by which the one holy catholic and apostolic church is essentially constituted and distinguished from all other congregations or corporations, and there was no difference at all to be observed between the significations of the Latin *concio* and the Greek ἐκκλησία, whatsoever formal difference fits the one doth as properly fit the other. If we look upon them as they lie in predicamental line, they have the selfsame aspect or situation; their formal significations are as synonymal as ἄνθρωπος in Greek and *homo* in Latin. But being now to search out, not the formal differences whereby the church κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or principally so named, is distinguished from all other societies, but the secondary acceptations or several branches of analogy contained under the word *church* or *ecclesia;* we are in the first place

to note, that the Greek ἐκκλησία hath a connotative signification or importance, which the Latin *concio* or English *church* hath not. It is as much in effect as *evocata concio*, a society elected or called out. This evocation or selection is of divers sorts, and each sort admits divers degrees. The whole latitude, as well of the divers sorts as of their degrees, may best be taken partly by surveying the *terminum a quo, et terminum ad quem*, that is, the estate or condition of life whence men are called, and the estate or condition of life unto which such men are called as make the church, and partly from the nature, quality, or degrees of the evocation or motion itself. Some are called from profession of Paganism, or from infidelity, unto the profession of Christianity *vocatione mera externa*, by external vocation only, as, by preaching of the word, by exhibition of the sacraments, or other like visible
829 or sensible invitations, to become members of Christ. And if they admit of the invitation and profession of Christianity, they become visible members of the church, indefinitely taken. But, proceeding no further, the former calling, through their own default, not in respect of God's intention or purpose in calling them, takes no real effect. We may say of them as our Saviour saith in the parable, Matt. xxii. 8, *The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.* And men thus far called only, are mere grammatical passives, and may be paralleled by the high way, upon which good seed was bestowed, though not received.

2. Others are called from Paganism, or infidelity, *vocatione interna*, by internal touches or attractions, which in some produceth no better effects than good wishes, or desires of amendment of life, or good motions for the present. And these may be paralleled by

the stony ground, which received the seed bestowed upon it, and for a while gave it nourishment and fair entertainment.

In others, the internal vocation may produce some root, that is, some temporary resolution for amendment of life, or practices conformable to rules believed, but no settled habit, no constancy in perseverance. And these may be paralleled by the thorny ground, in which the seed sown took better root than in the stony ground, but was stifled in the growth. This internal vocation is in others not only effectual for a time, or for some purposes, but produceth an habitual constant resolution of adhering to the truth known, and a conversation answerable to this vocation. The infallible consequent of all which is the gift of perseverance; the *terminus ad quem* of this their constant motion, or progress perfected in victory, is indissoluble union with Christ.

3. Of men indissolubly united to Christ, that is, of such as are, though in a different measure, perfect live members of the one holy and catholic church, some are called, not only out of the dregs of their native corruption unto the life of the Spirit, but out of this world into a better; and these are triumphant members of that one holy catholic church, which is the live body of Christ. They are *tuti et securi*, free, not only from all danger of apostasy, but from all possibility of any annoyance or incumbrances which the world, the devil, or the flesh, can attempt against them: *These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more,*

neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. Revel. vii. 14—16. Such as are called out of the flesh unto the life of the Spirit, but not as yet out of the world, are militant members of the holy catholic church, and victoriously militant; *tuti sunt, at non securi;* they are exempted from ordinary danger, or probable hazard of apostasy, but not utterly secured from all danger of temptation, no not from all impairment of their present estate.

4. Such as are called *vocatione interna,* by an inward calling, *sed inefficaci,* not effectual, or men not endued with the gift of perseverance, are militant members of the church, indefinitely taken, but not victoriously militant, no perfect members of the one holy catholic church, so called, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by excellency. Such as are called *vocatione externa,* by external vocation only, are no true members of the
830 church militant, much less any militant members of that true holy and catholic church, yet members in their kind of the visible church; for so, as cardinal Bellarmine acknowledgeth, *occulti hæretici, aut infideles,* dissembling heretics or infidels in heart may be. And this sort of men may be best resembled by such as have been pressed for soldiers, and taken their pay, but without any resolution or purpose to shew themselves in the day of battle, much less to adventure themselves in any difficult service, but ready upon approach of danger to forsake the field, or revolt unto the enemy. So that the ordinary and usual division of the church into triumphant and militant, comprehendeth more than the live members of the holy and catholic church; to wit, such members of the visible church or churches as oppose themselves to the holy and catholic church, or are not well affected towards it.

5. The visible church is a transcendent, and doth

neither exclude the members of the holy church triumphant or militant, nor doth it consist only of them, or of men internally though ineffectually called, but of them and of others, called only *vocatione mere externa*, by vocation merely external. Every member of the church triumphant is visible to others, members of the same church, though all invisible to the church militant here on earth; as, perhaps, the true members of the church militant are to them, save only so far as God hath revealed to them the names of such as shall be saved. The church militant likewise is visible to God, and to the several members of it: but what members of this visible and militant church be live members of the one holy and catholic church, or who hereafter shall become live members of it, is known only to God, or to men's private consciences, after their effectual calling. Every man perhaps may feel or perceive his own, but he cannot discern or see another's effectual calling.

6. Though the church be sometimes by good writers instyled as well *invisible* as *visible*, we are not from this opposition of words or terms to conceit an opposition or distinction of churches, as if some were visible, others altogether invisible. Such as most use these terms mean no more by them than we have said, to wit, what persons of the militant and visible church be true denisons of the heavenly Jerusalem, or city of God, is to us invisible or unknown. I cannot say, whether it were ignorance or malice in the Romanists to construe these terms of *visible* and *invisible*, whilst they found them in some of our writers, for divisive differences of the church, as if they had constituted two contradistinct or opposite churches, whenas it is plain that they are for the most part subordinate and coincident. Ordinarily the live members of the

holy catholic church, or of that part of it which is to us invisible, are members of some visible church, but not *e contra;* for neither all nor most part of any visible church in latter ages are true and live members of the holy and catholic church, part of which we believe to be here on earth, though it be to us invisible. Finally, to be visible or invisible, are denominations merely accidental, no true differences of the church. Between a visible church and a church invisible there is a mean. Many there be or may be in most ages which are no members of the visible church, and yet better members of the true church than the members of the church visible for the present are; for the true and orthodoxal church might be truly visible in its members so dispersed and scattered, as they cannot rightly be said to make one true visible church.

831 7. The invisibility of the holy catholic church here militant on earth hath not been in all ages the same. The members of this division (if so it please any man to conceit it) were, in the apostles' time, in a manner coincident. Few there were (especially of the Jewish nation) which did associate themselves unto the then visible church, which were not even in this life associated to the holy and catholic church militant, and made living stones in the house of God. That saying of the Holy Spirit, Acts ii. 47, was more peculiarly verified of those times, and of that people, than of any other times or people—*The Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.* This saying includes thus much—that all or most of those that professed themselves members of the then visible church became live members of the holy catholic church. And no wonder, for the temptations or dangers which then hindered the Jews or Gentiles, but especially the Jews, from consociating themselves to the then visible church,

were more and greater than such as hinder the members of later visible churches from entering into the kingdom of heaven, or from resolute profession of that doctrine, without which no member of any visible church this day extant upon earth can enter or be admitted into that one holy and catholic church.

Until Bellarmine, Valentia, Stapleton, and some others, did trouble the stream or current of God's word, as much as we have here said was clearly represented to the adversaries of our church. Witness that Enchiridion of Christian Institutions, set forth by the provincial council of Cullen, upon this article of the Creed. The author of which Enchiridion, (were he one or more,) having divided the church into triumphant and militant, ingenuously grants, that the church militant, taken in its proper and strict sense, is invisible, save only to God[a]. He grants withal, that some members of the church militant, *ita sunt in domo*

[a] Ecclesia duplex est, militans et triumphans, utramque complectitur hic articulus. Triumphans est cœtus ille beatarum animarum cum Christo regnantium, qui et de mundo et de diabolo triumphavit, et regnat cum Christo securus in æternum, quem Apocalypsis describit: *Hi* (inquit) *sunt qui venerunt de tribulatione magna, et laverunt stolas suas et dealbaverunt eas in sanguine agni, et ideo sunt ante thronum Dei, et serviunt ei die ac nocte in templo ejus, et qui sedet in throno, habitabit super illos, non esurient neque sitient amplius, non cadet super illos sol neque ullus æstus,* &c.

Ut ad ecclesiam militantem veniamus, hæc bifariam consideratur. Primum strictius, quatenus dicimus eos esse in ecclesia, qui ita sunt in domo Dei, ut ipsi sint domus Dei, seu templum Spiritus Sancti, qui constituunt urbem illam beatam Hierusalem de cœlo descendentem, a Deo paratam, constructam vivis ex lapidibus, de quibus dixit apostolus: *Multi unum corpus sumus in Christo Jesu:* quos et alibi vocat populum emundatum ab omni iniquitate acceptabilem Deo, sectatorem bonorum operum, ecclesia vero eatenus accepta soli Deo nota est, quemadmodum idem apostolus ait, *Cognovit Dominus qui sunt ejus.* Verum ad eum modum non oportet accipere ecclesiæ vocabulum, ubi vel Christus de audienda ecclesia præcipit, vel patres post apostolos de authoritate ecclesiæ disserunt.—Enchirid. Christian. Institut. fol. 65.

Dei, ut ipsi sint domus Dei; "they are so in the church of God, as they themselves are the churches of God;" that is, as we said before, they are homogeneal and live members of the one holy catholic and apostolic church, or pillars and living stones, so laid by the hand of God, that they can never be removed. All he had to say against Lutherans was, *verum ad eum modum non oportet accipere ecclesiæ vocabulum*, &c. "That when Christ commands us to hear the church, or when the fathers dispute about the authority of the church, we are not to take the church militant so strictly as Luther, Calvin, and their followers sometimes do; to wit, for the live members of Christ's mystical body."

All this may be granted; we are not the men which they mistake us for: we never denied obedience to the visible church, which consists of good and bad, which contains in it as well the reprobate as the elect. All the difference betwixt us is, about the bounds or the limits of the obedience which we owe unto the visible
832 church. We say, first, the present Romish visible church doth exact greater and more absolute obedience than either Moses[b], or such as sat in Moses' chair, than either Christ or his apostles did exact of their followers whilst he lived here on earth; secondly, we say, that we do not owe the same measure of obedience to any visible church now on earth, as the primitive professors and believers did to our Saviour Christ and his apostles.

[b] See this point handled at large in the third book upon the Creed; sect. 3. from the 6th chapter to the 15th. [vol. ii. pp. 231—360.]

CHAP. VIII.

What is required to the constitution of a visible church. Whence the unity or plurality of visible churches ariseth. What unity may be had or expected between visible churches independent one of another for jurisdiction. The divers acceptions or degrees of the visible church.

1. To the constitution of a visible church there is required, first, external profession of one and the same faith: whether the parties making this profession be many or few, it skills not. Sometimes the father of the family, with his sons and men-servants, were professors of the Christian faith, taught by the apostles, whilst the mothers and the daughters, with others of the same family, remained in paganism and infidelity, *et e contra.* Now, though the house so divided were not the church of God, yet was there a visible church of God, or part of such a church, in that house; a visible church distinct from others in place of habitation only, not by diversity of faith or discipline: for several families of the faithful were called *churches*, as being *partes similares*, homogeneal parts of some more entire or ample visible church. Secondly, to the constitution of an entire visible church there is required (besides unity of profession, or the unity of faith professed, or of moral laws acknowledged) an unity of laws or ordinances judicial, or an unity of discipline, of astipulation or obligement unto a peculiar kind of power or authority, before unusual in other societies or corporations.

2. Before the pastors or governors of the church had any commission or coactive power derived from princes, states, or commonweals, to make laws for the church, or for punishing offenders, every member of the visible church, in what realm or kingdom soever

seated, did renounce or abjure all use of such liberty as every other member of the same kingdom or commonweal, which was no member of the church, did enjoy. It was not lawful for one member of the visible church to implead another in matter of controversy or wrong before a foreign judge. And although this astipulation was not legal, (that is, not authorized by any human law or custom,) yet did it bind them faster than any legal or civil bond: *Dare any of you,* saith St. Paul, *having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? and if the world shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters?* 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2. But if some member of this visible church had opposed this spiritual authority, or rejected this discipline or
833 astipulation, what remedy had the apostles against them? In primitive times, every one that was partaker of the word, of the sacraments, or of spiritual blessings, did thereby subject or oblige himself unto a peculiar kind of judicature or tribunal, unto which no other member of the commonweal or kingdom, which was no participant of the word or sacraments, was either subject or obliged. And this was the sentence of excommunication; an extraordinary and peculiar kind of judicature, which the apostles exercised by authority immediately derived from Christ; not by commission or warrant from princes, or estates; not by the positive laws or ordinances of any body civil or ecclesiastic: *I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an*

one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus. 1 Cor. v. 3, 4, 5. That this apostolical judicature did extend only to the visible church planted by him, that it did extend to all, and might be exercised upon every actual member of the same church, is apparent from the 9th, 10th, and 11th verses: *I wrote unto you in an epistle not to company with fornicators.* The Corinthians had extended this precept too far; so far, as it was not possible for them exactly to observe it; and upon this occasion it seems they did (as it usually falls out in like cases) utterly neglect to practise it within its proper bounds or limits. The apostle therefore expresseth his meaning not to be, that they should not keep company *with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world. But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat. For what have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth.*

3. Thus it is true in blessings or privileges ecclesiastical as well as civil; *Omnis commoditas sua fert incommoda secum;* "Every commodity or convenience is charged with some or other incommodious conditions." Such of the Corinthians as were *foris, extra matriculam ecclesiæ visibilis,* "out of the visible church in Corinth," were not subject unto this extraordinary judicature, or the inconveniences that did accompany it; unto all which every visible member of the church there planted was subject. But this subjection was

like the service of God, a great part of their perfect freedom, and a chastisement, *not sweet for the present, but grievous; yet yielding the peaceable fruit of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby.* Heb. xii. 11. All the Corinthians that were *foris,* that is, out of the visible church there planted, were more than liable, and more than obnoxious to a more dreadful judgment from God, which one time or other must inevitably fall upon every one that is not found in Christ, or that is not a live member of the holy catholic church. The only means, at least the ordinary means then possible, to be exempted from this fearful judgment, was by associating themselves unto the present visible church, and by submission of their souls to this peculiar judicature of God's apostles, Christ's ambassadors. For this power (as the apostle elsewhere speaks) *was not given them for destruction, but for edification.* The members of the church that were thus judged by them were *chastened by the*
734 *Lord, that they should not be condemned with the world.* 1 Cor. xi. 32. Every apostle of Christ had the same authority which St. Paul here practised; namely, full authority to set down orders for governing the churches planted by them, and for excommunicating all such persons, as either contemptuously violated their orders, or did otherwise scandalously trespass against the moral law of God.

4. Was it then lawful for any visible member of the church planted by St. Paul at Corinth, in case of controversies, which were to be arbitrated according to the tenor of his rescript before rehearsed, to appeal from the sentence of St. Paul, or other domestic arbitrators, unto St. Peter, or unto any foreign church or see planted or governed by him? Or, contrariwise, was it lawful for the churches planted by St. Peter to

appeal unto St. Paul? If thus to do, it were not lawful, then, questionless, the churches visible of St. Paul's planting were as truly distinct from the churches planted or governed by St. Peter, as one free state or commonweal is from another, unto which it is not in jurisdiction or matter of appeal subordinate. Now it is not the unity or identity of laws or customs that makes a commonweal or kingdom to be one and the same, unless the persons which are subject unto the same laws be likewise subject to the same supreme tribunal. For albeit as well the temporal laws as the ecclesiastical constitutions of Sweden or Russia were as like to our English laws ecclesiastical or temporal as one apple is like to another, yet could not Russia, Sweden, and England be so properly termed one kingdom and commonweal, as England and Scotland are, although the laws by which those kingdoms are governed be much different.

5. In like manner, admitting the laws and discipline of all the churches planted by St. Peter, by St. Paul, and other apostles, had been the selfsame; yet could they not in this respect be so truly and properly said one visible church, as the particular churches planted by St. Paul, especially in one and the same province, were one church, albeit their laws or ordinances had been more different. It is probable then, that there were as many several distinct visible churches as there were apostles, or other ambassadors of Christ, immediately endued with this extraordinary judicature, which is immediately derived from Christ, and independent upon any earthly power, or any power whatsoever on earth, whether spiritual or temporal. Their opinion is very probable, who think that every apostle had his peculiar circuit allotted him by Christ; and that they did disperse themselves into twelve several

parts of the world. According to this tradition of the ancients, a learned critic of our times in matters sacred doth point and interpret the 24th verse of the first of the Acts after another manner than any known interpreter (to my remembrance) doth: *And they prayed, and said, Thou, Lord, which knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen, that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he* (to wit, Judas) *might go to his own place.* For so this place is ordinarily expounded; but the Greek may bear another sense; to wit, that he that took part of the ministration and apostleship from which Judas had fallen, might be sent that circuit which Judas (had he not fallen) should have gone[b].

i. It is, then, profession of the same faith, participation of the sacraments, and subjection to the same laws and ordinances ecclesiastic, which makes the visible church to be one.

835 ii. It is the diversity of independent judicature, or supreme tribunals ecclesiastic, which makes plurality of visible churches, or distinguisheth one from the other.

iii. That which makes every visible church to be more or less the true church of God, is, the greater or less efficacy or conformity of its public doctrine and discipline for enapting or fashioning the visible members of it, that they may become live members of the holy catholic church, or living stones of the new Jerusalem. Every true visible church is as an inferior free-school or nursery for training up scholars, that they may be fit to be admitted into the celestial academy.

[b] See Fr. Mason of the Consecration of Bishops, &c. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 24. *ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα, ὃν ἐξελέξω λαβεῖν τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς, ἐξ ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας, πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον.* If ye put a comma after the word *Ἰούδας*, the sense of this latter interpretation will be full.

6. There be two questions yet remaining of very good use, which (if God permit) shall be more particularly discussed hereafter:

First, Whether there be any judicature ecclesiastic, for independency, or otherwise, altogether the same with that which the apostles in the first planting of churches had and practised.

Secondly, Whether independent judicatures ecclesiastic did or may decrease or multiply in succeeding ages, or so decrease for number, that there shall be but one left on earth unto which all ought to be subject, so far, that there shall or can be but one true visible church.

Concerning the first point, Whether there be any judicature ecclesiastic altogether the same with that which the apostles had; I am not of opinion with Erastus, that great physician and good divine, that the exercise of excommunication was then only needful, when no visible church had any legal or civil remedy to preserve its unity, or purge itself of gross offenders; or that the right or power of excommunication, which the apostles and their immediate successors had, did utterly expire and vanish after once whole cities or commonweals became Christian, and the churches which before had only sojourned amongst them were incorporated into them as live principal members; enabled by full authority, derived from the supreme majesty or sovereignty of states or kingdoms, to inflict corporal punishment upon offenders, to enact coercive or penal laws or other means necessary for diffusing the doctrine of life throughout the whole body politic, without let or incumbrance of any particular part or member. But though I be not thus far of Erastus's mind, that the power of excommunication did at that time specified by him utterly expire or

determine; yet hath experience made it more than probable, that, after the churches and commonweals were so mutually interwrapt and linked together, that every member of the commonweal was enforced to become a member of the church, and to be so admitted by church governors, the edge of the spiritual sword[c] was much abated, the force of former spiritual ordinances became stifled with the multitude of persons against whom they were directed. Whether the defect be in the power itself, or in such as have it, but do not use it; certain it is, that this branch of discipline is not in our days so effectual as sometimes it hath been, either for framing visible churches unto the rules prescribed by their great founders or first planters, or for conforming the members of the visible church unto the true, holy, and catholic church. The mere spiritual power with which alone the apostles and their immediate successors were endued, was of greater efficacy than both the remainder of the like spiritual power in later
836 bishops and pastors, and all the strength of secular or civil power wherewith princes, states, or kingdoms, since the mutual incorporation of commonweals and churches, have (as they were in conscience and *de jure divino* bound) assisted prelates and church governors.

7. To the second question, Whether there be one or more independent tribunals, the later Romanists unanimously answer, that there is but one only judicature or supreme tribunal here on earth, the judge whereof they make the only head of all the churches, or (as they would say) of the whole militant church here on earth. *Nostra sententia est*, saith Bellarmine[d], *ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et*

[c] Vide Andream Laurentium in libello de Excommunicatione.

[d] Lib. 3. de Eccles. mil. cap. 2. Operum, tom. 2. col. 137. et in Catechismo in articulo de sancta et cath. ecclesia.

veram esse cœtum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione et eorundem sacramentorum communione, colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris vicarii, Romani pontificis. Ex qua definitione facile colligi potest, qui homines ad ecclesiam pertineant, qui vero ad eam non pertineant. Tres enim sunt partes hujus definitionis. Professio veræ fidei, sacramentorum communio, et subjectio ad legitimum pastorem Romanum pontificem. "The church, in our opinion," saith cardinal Bellarmine, "is one, not two; and this one true church is a company of men linked together by profession of the same Christian faith, by communion of the same sacraments, under the government of lawful pastors, and chiefly of the bishop of Rome, Christ's sole vicegerent here on earth. Out of this definition" (he further adds) "it may easily be gathered what men pertain unto the church, who pertain not unto it. For the parts of this definition are three; profession of faith, sacramental communion, and subjection to the lawful pastor, viz. the bishop of Rome." The conclusion which he aims at is this, that whosoever either doth not hold the same faith in all points which the Romish church doth, or doth not communicate with that church in the use of sacraments, or, doing both these, doth not withal acknowledge the bishop of Rome for his supreme governor ecclesiastic, he no way belongs to the true church. Whosoever holds all the three parts of the former definition, he is the true son of the same church.

"The militant church," saith the author of the Antidote, "is a society or company of men, linked and combined together in the same profession of the Christian faith, and use of sacraments, under lawful pastors, chiefly under one head, and vicar of Christ, the pope

of Rome." The third part of the Antidote, cap. 1. p. 17. §. 5.

8. The church triumphant is more beholding to, or rather less injured by this cardinal and his followers, than it was by some former popes or councils, which, as the doctor[e] of famous and blessed memory long since observed, have made the pope head of the church triumphant. Cardinal Bellarmine and his epitomists, in making the pope such an head of the universal church militant, make him an essential head of all Christ's actual live and indeficient members here on earth. And thus to do is an indignity to Christ, not literally or fully expressible by any terms which the tongue or pen of men can invent. It may, notwithstanding, be thus typically represented or shadowed :— Suppose a man should put a Gorgon or Saracen's head, made of straw or clouts, taken out of a sink, or some other place not fit to be named, upon the king's statue or image made by public authority of pure gold, having first stricken off or stolen away the true head, which the artificer had framed of matter homogeneal, and correspondent for form or proportion to the rest of the body.

837 9. Contradictory to cardinal Bellarmine and the author of the Antidote's definition, we may for the present conclude—and the rules as well of nature and reason, as of laws supernatural and divine, will ratify our conclusion—viz. first, that since the churches and commonweals, absolutely distinct each from other, and independent one of another, have been thus wedded together as soul and body, as man and wife; there have been as many several visible churches independent each on other, for matter of jurisdiction or sub-

[e] Raynold in Thes.

jection to one visible head, as there be several free states or Christian kingdoms independent one of another. Secondly, that the subordination of church to church is in proportion the same with the subordination of the several states wherein the churches are planted. The best union that can be expected between visible churches, seated in kingdoms or commonweals independent one of another, is the unity of league or friendship. And this may be as strict as it shall please such commonweals or churches to make it. Thirdly, to make the church seated in one absolute state or kingdom live in subjection to another church seated in another kingdom, or to any member of another church or kingdom, (head or branch,) is to erect a babel, or seat for Antichrist, not to build up one holy church to Christ. This practice or usurpation of the Romish church hath been the reason why the Christian world for these many years hath been more confused and disordered than the synagogue of Mahomet. Nor is there any possibility that Christian states or kingdoms should ever be so united in faith and love, as that their joint prayers should be acceptable unto God against the Turk, or other professed enemy of Christ, until they have cast off this heavy yoke of satanical slavery. But of these points hereafter.

10. Lastly, since the church hath been diffused throughout all and every part of kingdoms and provinces, it is impossible that every member should personally meet to make laws and orders. And yet all laws are presumed to be made by universal consent; and in this regard the churches have been enforced to have as well churches as bodies politic representative. And inasmuch as the practice and custom hath been to admit none but clergy or churchmen as members of the body ecclesiastic, or church representative, the name

of the church hath been in a manner appropriated to the clergy, churchmen, or spiritualty.

The church or body ecclesiastic representative, that is, the church enabled to make laws or canons ecclesiastic, (of what members soever it doth, may, or ought to consist, for their qualification, as whether only of clerks, or whether it may admit some mixture of the laity,) is either permanently existent, or existent only by vicissitude or turns. The church representative, which is existent only by vicissitude, or at certain times only, may be comprehended under the names of councils or synods, whether œcumenical, general, or provincial, or of convocations ecclesiastic. The church representative permanently existent amongst the Romanists is the consistory of the pope and his cardinals; albeit, in very deed, the Jesuits, the canonists, and later papists of their instruction, have contracted the church representative into the pope's breast alone. He, to use their own dialect, is the virtual church, that is, he eminently comprehends all the authority which is formally and ordinarily seated or inherent, whether in the church representative or in the whole militant and visible church of God, whereof he claimeth to be the sole visible head. He hath the same reference to the whole body of the church visible besides,
838 as Plato's *αὐτάνθρωπος* had to *ἄνθρωπος*; that is, he is *αὐτοκκλησία*, the life or quintessence of the visible church, or, in respect of that church, all in all. So cardinal Paleotus, in his book *de sacro Consistorio*, would persuade us, that as God Almighty sometimes governs the world by his ordinary power, or by the ministry or coagency of second causes, sometimes by his extraordinary immediate or absolute power; so the pope sometimes determines controversies in religion, and orders the affairs of the church, by the con-

sent and assistance of councils, or at least of his consistory; sometimes by himself alone, and by his sole plenary and illimited power.

CHAP. IX.

That albeit the true church be always visible, yet it is a gross sophism hence to infer that the visible church is always the true church, or that one visible church is more privileged from erring than another. The strange blasphemy, by which the author of the Antidote seeks to support the infallibility of the visible Romish church.

1. THE subject of our next inquiry shall be so to share the titles or attributes given by the scriptures, orthodoxal antiquity, or other good authority, to the church indefinitely taken, between that one, holy, catholic church which we believe in this Creed, and the visible church or churches which we see or know; so as that God and his holy church may have their full dues, and God's deputies here on earth, Cæsars, or other governors of his visible church, may have no wrong. The best and most general rule for our direction in this search is that which will better appear from a treatise concerning the exposition of prophecies. For as one and the same prophecy touching Christ, so one and the same promise made unto the church, may be often literally verified, and in different measure successively fulfilled, of divers parties. Some promises may be literally verified of the visible church, or synagogue of the Jews, before our Saviour's incarnation, and of the visible churches planted by his apostles; and be in part fulfilled, throughout every age, of the live members of Christ's body, to us invisible; but, lastly, to be exactly fulfilled of the church triumphant or kingdom of glory.

2. Most of the later Romanists' arguments are mere sophisms *a dicto secundum quid, ad simpliciter;* that is, they take all those glorious titles or promises made to the church, in its most ample or exquisite signification, to be exactly and entirely fulfilled of the visible church throughout all ages; whenas they are verified of it in part only, or at some special times, or by way of type or shadow, and unto which she hath at no time any absolute title, but conditional. In this mist of ignorance, the author of the blind Guide of Faith, in his second chapter, doth strangely wander, not only from the truth, but from the level which he had taken; not much amiss in the first chapter of his treatise; and, as his custom is, when he hath lost his way, like a balling hound, not well entered, falls a barking at doctor Whitaker, whose words or meaning, how sincerely he quotes or recites, I leave it to the unpartial reader's examination.

In his third chapter, having proposed this thesis, "That the true visible church is apparently known,
839 and famous to the world," he labours to prove, in the fourth chapter, "that the true visible and apparently known church can never fail." That the visible church was in the apostles' time, and after, the true church of God, we never denied; nor will we contend with him whether the true church of God on earth can ever fail, no, not whether ever it ceaseth to be visible. Where then is the difference? These two propositions, 'The true church of God is always visible,' 'The visible church is always the true church of God,' differ as much as *a mill-horse* and a *horse-mill*, or as *to stand with a man* and *to withstand a man.* The whole visible church, in the days of the emperors Constantius and Valens, did Arianize, as the Romanist cannot deny. The best answer that they can give to this instance is,

that these emperors did not reign long, for Valens died within three years after the persecution by him begun. However, the council of Millain, of Sirmium, &c., was the then visible church, κατ' ἐξοχήν; but I hope they will not say that it was the true church of God. For though almost all the bishops, and most Christians throughout the Roman empire, did subscribe unto these councils, yet was not the true church[f] of God during these three years invisible, but more remarkably visible in some few which did contradict the then visible church, content to suffer exile, or other martyrdom, in maintenance of the holy catholic faith, which is the life and soul of the church of God. In few ages after, wherein worse beasts than Valens was, were chief governors of the visible church, that is, after the succession of Romish bishops was grown up unto a perfect beast, according to the measure of Antichrist, the true church of God was remarkably visible in such as that visible church did condemn for heretics. Instances to this purpose are plentiful in unpartial writers. And when the doctrine of Antichrist was come to his full growth, as in the council of Trent, although the whole body of Germany, besides Chemnitius, and some few others, although the whole visible church of France, besides Calvin, and some such, had subscribed unto that council, yet the true church of God had been visible in France and Germany in these worthies. Enough there was in their writings against that council to condemn all such as followed it, that is, the visible or representative church of Rome, of palpable Antichristian heresy. Yet when we say that the true church of God was visible in these men, and in their writings, or in John Huss,

[f] See the 17th chapter of this book, especially par. 6.

&c., we do not tie ourselves to embrace whatsoever they wrote for truth. We may say of the true visible church, or of the truth by which we become visible members of the true catholic church, as one said of truth philosophical, that it could not be found entire in the writings of any one sect of philosophers, in the writings of all of them it might. This advantage we have of all the philosophers, that we have a surer and more perfect rule for examining the writings or doctrines of several visible churches, than they had any for examining truths philosophical. Absolutely to assent in each particular to any writers or teachers since the first constitution of the apostolic church, or accomplishment of the written rule of faith, were to dissent from them in the main and fundamental point of catholic faith. For unless there be an unfeigned and hearty desire, a spirit of watchfulness and of willingness to limit our adherence unto whatsoever other writings, according to the greater or less evidence of their consonancy with the written rule, neither scholar, nor master, nor church visible or representative, can be any other than equivocal or dead members of the true church. The catholic faith itself, could it
840 possibly be planted in any man's heart, without the spirit or genius to direct or inform it, would quickly either putrefy or grow crooked.

3. Amongst other glorious titles wherewith the same author seeks to adorn the church of Rome, this, which is the title of his fifth chapter, is one, that 'the true church cannot err.' A proposition, I must confess, as hard for us to disprove, if he take it *in sensu composito*, as it is for him to prove *in sensu diviso*. That no church, as it is true, and whilst it is true, or in respect of those points with reference to which it is denominated true, can possibly err, is a truth that

cannot be denied. But if by *the true church* he mean a visible, or the visible Romish church, there neither is nor hath been any visible church, though planted by the apostles themselves, which since their times hath not either ceased to be a visible church, or else continued for a long time as palpably erroneous and false as truly visible. Whatsoever this author deem or write, his fellows and masters with one mouth confess, that every private man in their church may err; that the bishops assembled in council, without the pope's direction or confirmation of their sentence, may err; that the pope himself, unless he speak *ex cathedra*, may err. And by this confession, either the Romish church is no true church, save only whilst the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, or else the whole body of the true church (if the Romish church be the true church) may sometimes err. For at all times else, both head and members of this church may err. In this inference, I take it as granted that the pope doth not always speak *ex cathedra*. Now if in these interims of his cathedral silence, any bishop, priest, or Jesuit shall take upon them to instruct their auditors, out of the pulpit or otherwise, in points of faith or controversy, their poor flock, by this man's collections against us, cannot be made partakers of that true and infallible faith, without which no man can be saved; because their preachers or ministers are not infallible, nor (to use his words) "undoubtedly fenced from all danger of error." His collections against us are these: "Finally, to what end do protestants strive so much for the church's erring, but only to deprive themselves thereby of church, faith, and religion? For whereas neither religion nor church can stand without supernatural faith, nor supernatural faith be attained without infallible certainty of the things believed; if their

preachers, their ministers, their church be not undoubtedly fenced from all danger of error, the articles they believe have not that inerrable warrant which is necessary to faith[g]." Did this man, may we think, believe that he himself was undoubtedly fenced from all danger of error? If he did so believe, the cardinals of Rome shall do him much wrong, if they choose him not pope the next election, or appoint him not as coadjutor to the present pope. If it be replied, that the Romish instructors, be they bishops or priests, cannot err, because they neither believe nor teach others to believe any points of faith, but with absolute submission of their instructions to what the pope already hath spoken or shall hereafter speak *ex cathedra* concerning the same points, the medicine will be a great deal worse than the disease. For this persuasion or resolution is altogether incompatible with the first grounds of faith, and is flat apostasy from Christ, as hath been discussed at large in the second book upon the Creed; and shall be further manifested, if occasion require, in the second book of this treatise. To the former objection, the answer on our part is easy. For true faith receives its infallibility, not from any infallibility in our immediate and ordinary teachers, but from the infallibility of the truths themselves which
841 they propose unto us out of the rule of truth, and from the infallibility of that internal and secret Teacher, without whose impressions of truths infallible in men's hearts no true faith can be conceived by the church itself, in what sense soever taken, or by any member of it. But this point likewise hath been fully discussed throughout our second book upon the Creed. Concerning this glorious title of not erring,

g Guide of Faith, cap. 5. p. 54.

wherewith he seeks to invest the visible church, the case is easy, and the issue short. If the true church, which can never err, be the visible church; then that visible church, which often hath erred, and doth still err, cannot be the true church, nor such a supreme judge of controversies, as he imagines the visible Romish church to be in his sixth chapter. Now whether the visible church of Rome hath not of later years grossly erred in many points, and most grievously in this very opinion of their own absolute infallibility, comes to be disputed in the second book. In which likewise it shall (by God's assistance) appear, that this vaunting doctor hath really danced in that inextricable maze which he terms but an imaginary circle, cap. 7.

4. The special title or attribute which in this place requires larger discussion, whether it belong merely to the holy catholic church, so termed by excellency, or in some measure also unto the visible church, is that maxim usual amongst the fathers, *Extra ecclesiam non est salus;* that is, as the forecited author proposeth it, cap. 8, "That out of the true church there can be no hope of salvation in any congregation or sect whatsoever." As an additional to this general testimony, they add that of St. Hierome, tom. 2. ep. 57. ad Damas. et tom. 4. lib. 4. comment. in cap. xi. Isa.: "If any one were not in the ark, he was drowned in the time of the inundation: if any one be not in the church, he perisheth in the day of destruction." And again, Gaudentius, a little more ancient than Hierome (as this author cites him): "It is manifest that all men of those times perished, excepting only such as deserved to be found within the ark, bearing a type or figure of the church. For so in like manner they can-

not be saved who are separated from the apostolic faith and catholic church." Guide of Faith, cap. 8.

5. Pius Quartus affirmeth, that that Creed which he hath patched up out of the Nicene Creed and council of Trent is the faith, *extra quam non est salus*, "out of which there is no salvation." Unto an empty discourse addressed to this purpose, the said author of the Antidote, in his ninth chapter of the Guide of Faith, hath prefixed this swelling title, "No sectary" (so he terms us) "can be saved by believing general heads." The mark he aims at is, that we are bound, under penalty of damnation, to believe whatsoever the visible church commends unto us as a point of faith, as firmly as we believe the general articles of the Apostolic or Nicene Creed. And to obtrude this conclusion upon us, which would draw us to a general apostasy, he hath shamelessly transferred that royal prerogative of God's moral law, avouched by St. James, ch. ii. 10—*Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all*—unto all the mandates of the visible church. And lastly, to accumulate impudency, having once transgressed the bounds of Christian modesty, he further adds, "that it is not enough to believe all the mandates of the visible church, unless we do communicate with it in practice[h]." But in what points we may communicate with the Romish church, in what we may not, shall be in particular discussed hereafter. For a general answer to his blasphemous allegations, we can conceive none
842 better, none so good, as that which St. James hath framed for us: he that said, *Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not commit*

[h] See the 19th chapter of this book.

adultery, nor bear false witness against thy neighbour, said also in more precise and cautelous terms, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the similitude of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them*, &c. Now if we shall communicate with the present Romish church, in worshipping the images of the Almighty Creator, of the Persons in Trinity, and of every living creature in heaven, or in adoring the similitudes of bread and wine, or rather bread or wine itself, we should daily draw the guilt of transgressing the whole law of God upon us. Were not these kind of men further transported with their blind zeal unto their own traditions, and malice towards the gospel of Christ, than the Jews were, we might refer this point unto the Romanists, as the apostles did the like unto the judgment of the Jews, *Whether it were better to obey God*, forbidding, or the visible church commanding, the adoration of images or the consecrated host, *judge ye.*

CHAP. X.

In what cases arguments of proportion may be drawn from allegories. A full explication of the allegory used by St. Paul, Gal. iv., *and of the argument, or concludent proof, in the same allegory contained.*

1. Unto the argument drawn from Noah's ark, I could use the common exception, *Sensus allegoricus aut symbolicus, non est sensus argumentativus;* "That points of doctrine are not to be grounded upon the allegorical or symbolical sense of scriptures." But exceptions are then useful when they are needful, and they are then only needful when the testimonies against us are not only true but concludent. And

some good writers, to my apprehension, have not in any point given greater advantage to their adversaries, than by denying orthodoxal or plausible antecedents, when they should have examined the argument or traversed the vulgar judgment concerning the consequence. We will not therefore deny that the argument may be rightly drawn from Noah's ark unto Christ's church, which *in thesi* is as much as to say, that *sensus allegoricus seu mysticus est aliquando argumentativus*, "the allegorical or mystical sense is sometimes argumentative;" yea it is always so when the allegory is rightly grounded upon the literal sense, and when the terms are distinct and rightly suited. For such an allegory is an argument from proportion, which is the most usual kind of argument amongst sacred writers. I will instance in two arguments of St. Paul; in the one of which I must be somewhat longer, because it is more difficult. Yet to recompense this inconvenience, the matter of it, rightly explicated, is very homogeneal or suitable to the matter now in hand, and may serve as a leading case to others which we are hereafter to handle; Galat. iv. 21—24: *Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, the one by a bondmaid, the other by a freewoman. But he who was of the bondwoman was born after the flesh; but he of the freewoman was by promise. Which things are an allegory.* As every analogy or proportion, so every allegory, (especially in matters sacred,) if it be explicit and complete, consists
843 of four distinct terms. In this present allegory of the apostle, as in the like used by sacred writers, the two first terms have a literal, proper, or historical sense; the other two have a borrowed, metaphorical, or symbolical sense; or, to speak more significantly, (perhaps

to some men,) the two first terms, besides their historical or native signification, have a symbolical or emblematical importance; that is, the realities or matters historically related, or literally expressed, are as types and shadows of some more principal events to ensue, though not literally expressed or foretold, but by way of hieroglyphical emblem. And in this allegory, the historical and proper terms are Hagar the handmaid and Sarah her mistress. The allegorical terms, by these foreshadowed, are the two testaments; the one from mount Sinai, whereof Hagar the handmaid is the type; the other from heaven, established by our Saviour's blood, whereof Sarah the mistress and the freewoman is the type. Thus much is clear from the apostle himself.

The difficulty which hath puzzled many good interpreters in the exposition of this text herein consists; namely, how and in what manner the other terms, which are here interserted, as *mount Sinai*, or *Agar in Arabia, the Jerusalem that now is*, and *the Jerusalem which is above*, are reducible to the four former terms wherein the allegory properly consists. To prove that Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, was the type of the testament given upon mount Sinai, the apostle thus infers, or rather interprets, Τὸ γὰρ Ἄγαρ, Σινᾶ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ***For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia.*** Gal. iv. 25. This inference, to a mere artist, may well seem strange; for it is merely equivocal. And whatsoever *sensus mysticus, parabolicus*, or *allegoricus* be, certainly, *sensus æquivocus non est sensus argumentativus*, "the equivocal sense can bring forth no sound argument."

2. To this we answer, that many things which are *æquivoca casu* in respect of men, are *æquivoca a consilio* in respect of God's providence; and divers pro-

phecies, which have been conceived and expressed in terms equivocal, have been remarkably fulfilled according to the different or contrary significations of one and the same prophetical word; as, on the contrary, one and the same evangelical word or attribute of Christ may (according to its different or equivocal significations) comprise the literal significations of two or more prophecies conceived in distinct terms, no way equivocal or coincident in the original. Instance was elsewhere[i] given in the Latin *Nazarenus*, or *Nazareus*, truly verified of Christ, both as he was the *rod of Jesse* and as he was the *idæa* of legal Nazarites. To these the instance of our apostle in this place is parallel. That the same mountain which the Hebrews call *Sinai* should by the Arabians be called *Agar*, and bear the same name which Agar, Sarah's handmaid did, was merely accidental or casual, in respect of men. But that God should promulge his law, and enter a covenant with his people upon this mount, did, by the disposition of his all-seeing providence, enigmatically portend what the apostle (by an analogy of interpreting scriptures well known in his time) infers; to wit, that such as did adhere unto the law, or first covenant, as to their mother, scorning or loathing the sincere milk of the gospel or new testament, should, by so doing, become rather children of Abraham by Agar the bondwoman, than by Sarah the freewoman, as anon shall be declared. But besides this equivocation of the word *Agar*, and the doubtful signification of the Greek συστοιχεῖ, there is an amphibology in their reference or conjunction, which many
844 good interpreters not well observing have left the stream or current of the apostle's words much troubled

[i] In a sermon upon Jer. xxxi. 22.

in translations, though in a manner clear in the fountain.

3. Most of the ancient, with some modern, make the mount Agar the entire subject of this proposition; as if he had said in English, 'This mount Agar bordereth upon Jerusalem;' whereas the apostle's meaning is, that Agar Sarah's handmaid did border upon, or answer unto the then Jerusalem. The vulgar Latin, speaking of this mount, saith, *continuatus est;* Erasmus, *confinis est Jerusalem;* which I wonder at, if we have his last corrections, seeing a learned man[k] did admonish him to amend it. Aquinas, to justify the sense of the Vulgar translation, gives this reason why mount Agar might be said to be *continuatus* Jerusalem, because the journey or pilgrimage from this mountain was *continual.* But Sepulveda very well replies, that there was never any journey less continuate than the Israelites' journey from mount Agar to Jerusalem. For it was a continual wandering up and down; neither was the Jerusalem whereof the apostle speaks, but the whole land of promise, the term or period of the Israelites' wandering pilgrimage. Some others, whom Luther followeth, have taken some pains in geography to shew that the mountains in Arabia are continuate unto that part of Judæa wherein Jerusalem stands; but how true soever this may be in geography, it cannot be more true than impertinent to our apostle's meaning. For *Agar*, or *Sinai*, is not such a general name of the whole mountain-country in Arabia as *wold* or *chiltern* is in English. It is the proper name of that one famous mount on which the law was given, betwixt which and Jerusalem there be so many other hills and moun-

[k] Sepulveda in his epistle to Erasmus.

tains, that it cannot be said in any geographical sense to border upon Jerusalem. True it is, that the Greek συστοιχεῖ doth sometimes signify as much as to border or trench upon, yet this is but a secondary or derivative signification. The reason of this derivative or borrowed speech is, because such as are properly termed σύστοιχοι, that is, such as march together in battle array, are *vicini*, or near one to the other. Our two later English translations render it better, *answereth to Jerusalem*, or as Beza, *ex adverso respondet;* but neither, as I think, refer this word *answering* to geographical situation; in which sense the Latin *respondet* is (at least by poets) sometimes used. So Crete is said to answer to Athens:

Contra elata mari respondet Cnosia tellus.

4. But our later English, by this word *answering*, meaneth it to be in the same rank with *Jerusalem*. Howbeit, to speak in the proper terms of art military, such as are in the same rank are called σύστοχοι; they are σύστοιχοι which are next in the same file, that is, *in eadem serie, incipiendo a fronte ad tergum*, "in the same line or row from front to rear." As when soldiers march ten in breast, and thirty deep, they are said to be thirty ranks, and ten files, and yet thirty in file, and but ten in rank. The first and second in the same file are σύστοιχοι; the first and second in the next file to these are σύζυγοι with these, or ἀντίστοιχοι unto them. Or as in a team or draught of oxen, such as are of the one side are σύστοιχοι; and with reference to them, such as are on the other side are ἀντίστοιχοι; such as are in the same yoke are σύζυγοι. However, because soldiers συστοιχοῦντες, καὶ συζυγοῦντες, that is, *when they march in order*, hold just distance and proportion one with another, hence it is, that in Aristotle and other good writers, the

several terms of any just proportion are called σύστοιχοι, as two, four, eight, sixteen.

5. The *termini* σύστοιχοι in this allegory are not 845
mount Agar, but Agar Sarah's handmaid and her offspring, and the Jerusalem which was in our apostle's time. On the other side, the *termini* ἀντιστοιχοῦντες to these, or σύστοιχοι, betwixt themselves, were Sarah Abraham's wife and her offspring, and the Jerusalem which was above. As for mount Agar or Sinai, it is no formal part of the allegory, no term at all in this proportion, but only collaterally, or by way of metonymy interserted: inasmuch as the old testament, which is one of the formal and primitive terms in this allegory, was given upon this mount, the old testament, or covenant itself, and Jerusalem which then was, cannot be properly termed σύστοιχοι, as making but one term, and differing only as *homo* and *rationale*. So the new testament, and the Jerusalem which is above, make but one term, whereof the one is as the soul and *quiddity*, the other as the body or *compositum*, unto which Sarah Abraham's wife is the *terminus* σύστοιχος. Unto this or like kinds of arguments drawn from proportion, there is always some common notion or prolepsis presupposed as a ground to support them.

The presupposed ground of this argument is, that Abraham's family was a type, yea more than a type, of the militant church, the very root of that celestial vine which God having brought out of Egypt did plant in Jewry. This presupposed, our apostle's argument may be thus drawn: The same proportion which Agar the handmaid had to Sarah her mistress in Abraham's house, the same proportion hath the old testament to the new in the house of God; the same proportion which Agar's offspring had to Sarah's,

the same proportion had the children of the law, that is, the Jerusalem which then was, unto the Jerusalem which is above, that is, to the children of the gospel, or sons of promise. Now Agar was sometime a visible and principal member of Abraham's family, a kind of second wife to Abraham, and Ishmael her son was for a while Abraham's presumed heir; yet after Agar did begin to despise and contest with her mistress Sarah, and Ishmael to flout or persecute Isaac, Abraham's heir apparent and son of promise, both mother and son were cast out of Abraham's house, and deprived of all hope of inheritance in the land of promise. Sarah bearing the type of the true visible church then on earth, did pronounce that sentence of excommunication against them, *Cast out the bondwoman and her son*, Gen. xxi. 10; and God, ratifying in heaven what she had bound on earth, enjoins Abraham to put her sentence in execution, Gen. xxi. 12. The covenant likewise which God made with this people upon Hagar, or mount Sinai, was as the betrothing of Israel unto himself. The law of Moses, whilst it was lawfully used, was the only catechism or introduction, without which there was no entrance into the church of God. The children of this covenant did by virtue of it become *hæredes presumpti*, the presumed heirs or children of God.

6. But when this deputed or nursing-mother came once to contest with the true spouse of Christ, with the new testament or gospel; and after her children, the Jerusalem which then was, began to persecute the children of the Jerusalem which is above; the mother with her children, that is, the law, with such as sought to be under it, were cast out of the true visible church of God by the apostles, unto whom our Saviour had committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven. There

is a special emphasis in that speech of the apostle, τῇ νῦν Ἱερουσαλέμ: this is not all one as if he had said, the earthly Jerusalem which had continued from David's time till Christ, but not the same for condition 846 in our Saviour's time as it was in David's; for it now stood in such opposition to the gospel as Agar did to her mistress Sarah at the time when she and her son committed those misdemeanours for which both of them were cast out of Abraham's house. The Jerusalem which was on earth was sometimes, or in some part, rather a consort than an opposite or adversary to the Jerusalem which was above. So was the old testament or the law, and all such as lawfully used it, rather subordinate allies, than foes or adversaries to the new testament, or heirs of promise.

The occasion which Agar took to despise her mistress was her barrenness; but the Lord took occasion from Agar's contempt and scorn to visit Sarah, as afterwards he did Hannah, with mercy in the midst of grief, and gave her *strength to conceive seed, and she was delivered of a child when she was past age, because she judged him faithful who had promised. Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable.* Heb. xi. 11, 12. Nor was Abraham only ταῦτα νενεκρῶμενος, *as good as dead,* in respect of procreation, but Isaac, in whom his seed was to be called, was by him destined to death, and in figure or token of the resurrection received to life again, before he became the father of the glorious offspring which God had promised to Abraham.

7. In like manner the present Jerusalem or synagogue did deride the new Jerusalem when it first came down from heaven to abide with men on earth, and

flouted the promised seed (even whilst they persecuted him to death) more bitterly than Ishmael had done Isaac: *He saved others, himself he cannot save.* Thus they did, and thus they said, not remembering that what had been said to Abraham, and done to Isaac, was to be fulfilled in Christ: therefore he was not only to be as *good as dead*, or destinated to death as Isaac was, but to taste of death before his glorious seed came to be multiplied as the stars of heaven. Thus much besides the body or emblem exhibited in Isaac was expressly foretold by the evangelical prophet: *When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied*[1].

But that which serves best for setting out the parallel betwixt the apostle and the prophet is this: after the evangelical prophet had written the history of Christ's passion, in the fifty-third chapter, he presently sets down that invitation of the new Jerusalem, (prefigured by Sarah and her barrenness,) to take up old Hannah's song[m]: *Rejoice, O barren, thou that didst not bear; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord. Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy*

[1] Isaiah liii. 10, 11.

[m] *Hannah prayed, and said, My heart rejoiceth in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord; my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation. They that were full have hired out themselves for bread; and they that were hungry ceased: so that the barren hath born seven; and she that hath many children is waxed feeble. The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.* 1 Sam. ii. 1, 5, 6.

cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited. Isaiah liv. 1, 2, 3. The apostle, immediately after his explication of the former allegory, Gal. iv. 26, 27, takes up the first part of the prophet's song, by way of testimony or confirmation of his doctrine: *But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not,* &c.

CHAP. XI. 847

Of the consonancy between the promulgation of the old testament and the new. Of the opposition between the law and the gospel, or between the old testament and the new. The explication of the apostle's argument, Heb. ix. 13, 14.

1. BUT when did the church or spouse of Christ (or children of the new testament) first take up this joyful song, whereunto the prophet did invite her? immediately upon our Saviour's death and resurrection? No; these were the days of the church's widowhood, wherein she sat (for a while) destitute and comfortless, and wherein her womb was shut up from bearing children. The apostles themselves had as little strength as Abraham had to beget, or Sarah had to bring forth, children unto God, until they were endued with power from above. The new Jerusalem did not descend like a glorious bride from heaven, until the bridegroom her Lord had ascended from earth to heaven in glory. But within ten days after, the Holy Ghost came down upon the apostles and disciples in visible shape, in token that Christ's church was now betrothed unto him: this was as the solemnization of the marriage. And whereas for fifty days

after our Savionr's resurrection we do not read of one soul more than their own begotten to God by the apostles and disciples, there *were added* upon the fiftieth day *three thousand souls* unto the new Jerusalem or visible church; and every day after *such as should be saved.* And these, being dispersed throughout every nation under heaven, did propagate the seed, increasing and multiplying much faster than the Israelites did in Egypt.

The songs of joy foretold by Isaiah the prophet were taken up by these sons of the new Jerusalem *whilst they were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance,* Acts ii. 4. God gave this law upon mount Hagar or Sinai fifty days after the Israelites were delivered out of Egypt; and fifty days after the deliverance of his people from the bondage of sin and Satan, the same Lord proclaims his gospel or new covenant upon mount Sion in Jerusalem, the metropolis or royal seat of Abraham or David's seed. The visible Jerusalem, from David's time till Christ's, is as the middle term of proportion between the law and the gospel; that is, the same proportion which the law, as opposed unto the gospel, or which Agar with her children had unto Abraham's offspring by Sarah, in respect of civil freedom, or of emblematical or typical preeminences, the like proportion had Abraham's offspring by Sarah (or the visible Jerusalem in her greatest glory) unto the new Jerusalem, after the Holy Ghost had descended upon the apostles, and such as were in their times converted unto Christ. And as the law being given upon mount Agar did emblematically import a kind of civil servitude unto such as did adhere unto it, whilst it stood in opposition to the gospel, so the gospel being promulged in the visible Jerusalem,

did betoken the spiritual freedom of all such as abandoning the law did embrace it.

2. Of the difference or agreements betwixt the law and the gospel, or (which is all one) betwixt the old testament and the new, I shall have occasion to treat elsewhere. For this time it shall suffice in a word to 848 advertise, that the old testament and the new are sometimes compared and considered by sacred writers, *tanquam includens et inclusum*, as the husk and the grain. The gospel before Christ's time was in the law as the corn new set in the ear. And the law and the gospel, or the two testaments, thus considered, are rather one than two, at least there is an unity of subordination betwixt them. Unto such as used the old testament as they ought, only as an introduction to the new, there was indeed but one testament; for, as the schools speak, *ubi unum propter aliud, ibi unum tantum.* The same testaments may be sometimes considered as abstracted or severed each from other. Thus the gospel or new testament, since our Saviour's death and resurrection, is become as pure corn, threshed and winnowed; the old testament, or the law, (thus severed from it,) remains only as the chaff or husk. If we thus consider the law or old testament, as the Jews embrace it, that is, altogether severed from the new, to which alone we Christians adhere by faith, they are not only two, but two opposites or contraries. The Jews' *appetitus caninus,* or womanish longing after the law, and our constant adherence to the gospel, (thus opposed unto the law, as pure corn unto the putrefied chaff or husk,) breeds a kind of antipathy between us: for such as is our several food and nourishment, such our several dispositions are. We feed upon the pure corn, or rather upon the bread of life itself, cleansed from all bran;

the Jew only upon the chaff or husk, and his religion is as loathsome to us, as swine's flesh is to him. See Philipp. iii. 7, 8, 9.

3. This opposition or subordination between the legal or evangelical testament will further appear from our second instance which was in the same apostle, Heb. ix. 13, 14: *If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?* The terms of proportion likewise in this inference are four: the first, not fully expressed, but implied, and it is a sin or trespass merely committed against the law of ceremonies. The second, which is σύστοιχος to this, is a legal or proper sacrifice for such a sin, to wit, *the blood of bulls and of goats, and the sprinkling the ashes of an heifer.* The third term, typified by the ceremonial sin, is man's natural corruption, sins original or actual, or sin of what kind soever committed against the moral law of God. The fourth term is the sacrifice by God appointed to purify and cleanse us from such sins; and that was the bloody sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Christ, whereof the legal sacrifices were types or shadows. So that the legal sacrifices had two uses or references; the one expiatory; (for their offering did expiate sins merely ceremonial;) the other sacramental or prefigurative, for they did picture out or represent the eternal sacrifice, whereby our redemption was fully wrought, as the apostle proves at large in the tenth chapter to the Hebrews. His argument in this place is in effect thus: the same efficacy which sacrifices merely legal offered by the priest had in cleansing men from sins

merely ceremonial, as from touching of the dead, or some creeping thing, &c., the same, but much greater efficacy, hath *the blood of Christ*, being offered by the eternal Spirit, (that is, by the Godhead personally dwelling in him,) to cleanse us from all sins against the moral law of God, and to purify us from such dead works as, not expiated by his blood, would bring forth everlasting death. Now the apostle takes it as granted, 849 that the legal sacrifices did not only sufficiently cleanse men from such sins, but withal did legally sanctify them: and so in like manner Christ's blood was not only the full price of our redemption, but is withal the fountain of our sanctification, by which we are qualified for admission into the heavenly sanctuary.

4. The first original of the Jews' hypocrisy and malice was their ignorance in the law of Moses, for they thought these legal sacrifices were sufficient to cleanse them from all sins whatsoever. And if such sacrifices could have freed from sin, the Jew had been most free from sin of any people living. Most of those that persecuted our Saviour Christ might be, as St. Paul was whilst he was a persecutor, ἄμεμπτος, *without stain* or *blot*, in respect of *the righteousness which is of the law*, Philipp. iii. 6. In presumption of this their integrity, with reference to the law of ceremonies, and of their being Abraham's sons, not by Agar but by Sarah, the better sort of the worser Jews scorned to hear of being set free by the truth itself, which they in part believed: *If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?* But our Saviour tells them, inasmuch as they *committed sin they were the servants*

of sin, (and being servants, they were in the same case with Agar and her son). *For the servant abideth not in the house for ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* John viii. 31—36.

Thus you see that the apostle, Gal. iv. 18, &c. did teach no other thing than our Saviour here doth. These Jews, by relying upon the prerogatives of the law, became as sons of the bondwoman, remaining still slaves to sin. Others, by adhering to the new testament, which the Son of God ratified by his blood, became sons of the freewoman, or, as this evangelist[n] elsewhere speaks, *the sons of God.* How exactly the present visible Romish church doth parallel Agar and the Jerusalem which then was, when our Saviour and St. Paul thus wrote and spake, shall, by God's assistance, be declared hereafter. Let us now see how ill that church doth parallel Noah's ark,

CHAP. XII.

The allegory or argument of proportion drawn from Noah's ark, explicated according to the former rules, and retorted upon the Romanist.

FROM these and the like arguments, drawn from the types to their antitypes, we are for conclusion to frame the argument drawn from Noah's ark after another fashion, and to a better end than the Romanist doth. The terms of proportion in this argument are conspicuous: first, Noah; secondly, his ark; thirdly, the means of safety from the flood by his ark. Terms to these ἀντίστοιχοι, are, first, Christ; 2. his church; and, 3. the salvation of such as enter into his church. First, to parallel Noah and Christ in some few points: *The Lord said unto Noah,* Gen. vii. 1,

[n] John i. 12.

Thee have I found righteous before me in this generation; that is, as the apostle saith of Abraham, he had whereof to boast with men, but not with God. He was righteous, not only *coram hominibus,* but *præ hominibus coram Deo,* "more righteous than any other man living, even in the sight and judgment of God," yet not perfectly righteous in the sight of God. 850 This was Christ's peculiar, in whom that which was in some measure or comparatively verified in Noah was exactly fulfilled: for he only, amongst all the generations of men, was altogether pure and righteous before God. Again, Noah was a preacher of righteousness, and extraordinarily qualified for this function by the Spirit of Christ. So much that place of St. Peter proveth in his first Epistle, chapter iii. 18—20: *For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit: by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometime were disobedient, when once the longsuffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing.* Yet Noah had but his portion, though a large one of the Spirit: *Sed Christo Deus non admetitur Spiritum—God giveth not the Spirit by measure to Christ,* John iii. 34. *He spake but the word, and great was the number of preachers; and from his* inexhaustible *fulness we all received grace for grace.*

2. Again, Noah built an ark by God's appointment for the safety of all such as were obedient to his preaching; into which, whosoever would not enter was destroyed by the flood, for disobedience to his preaching. All this was fulfilled of the church which Christ builded: for whosoever doth not enter into it, shall be devoured by the everlasting flames, for dis-

obedience to this authentic preacher of righteousness. The issue then between us and the Romanists is, unto what church Noah's ark answers as a figure? to the visible Romish church, or only to the church before defined, which is one holy and catholic church, κατ' ἐξοχήν? We say of this latter only, not of any visible church, save only so far as it is an introduction to this church. Our reason is this: Although it be true that none of the sons of men, besides such as entered into Noah's ark, were saved from the deluge; yet is not this negative more unquestionably true than the affirmative, That whosoever entered into the ark were saved from the deluge. This is so expressly and determinately set down in the scripture, that no atheist can question the meaning or extent of the propositions wherein it is set down: *In the selfsame day*, saith the scripture, Gen. vii. 13, *entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark.* And in chapter viii. 18, *Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him.* So that eight souls came into the ark, and eight went forth.

3. So then, for conclusion, Noah's ark was a type of that *church*, into which whosoever enters shall be saved; but such a church is not the visible Romish church, in what sense soever it be taken. First, it is not true of the universal church, consisting of the laity and clergy, nor of the church representative, to wit, their general or provincial councils. For none will affirm, that all and every one of their bishops, or such as give suffrage in their councils, shall have the suffrage of Christ, or their names written in the book of life. They will not astipulate, that whosoever is graced with a red hat in Rome shall be sure

to wear a saint's or martyr's crown in heaven. Even the pope himself, whom they make their virtual church, may be a notorious vicious man, and die the death of the wicked; and therefore neither living was the head, nor at his death any member of that church which was prefigured by Noah's ark; because he can neither save himself, nor such as have committed their souls to be wafted over to the new Jerusalem by this presumed pilot of Peter's pretended ship. So that either Peter's ship was not such a type of Christ's 851
church as Noah's ark was, or else the pope is no pilot of it.

4. Do we speak this as men? doth not the scripture say the same? do we make these collections as sectaries, or hath not St. Peter made them unto our hands? For, speaking of the *ark, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water;* he saith, *The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.* 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. His meaning is, that as Noah's ark was the type of that church, *extra quam nulla salus, intra quam salus certissima,* "out of which there is no salvation, in which salvation abounds;" so the waters, by which the ark was consecrated or hallowed to be the receptacle of safety to mankind, was a type or figure of that sacred laver by which the church is consecrated or hallowed to be as the womb or breast of salvation to the faithful. Baptism itself answereth in proportion to the door or window of Noah's ark. But of what baptism was the water by which such as entered into the ark were saved a type? A type of external baptism? No; external baptism, and the waters of Noah,

were types of the same rank, both were types or shadows of that internal baptism, which is wrought by the Holy Ghost, by which we are incorporated into the body of Christ, and become more undoubtedly safe from the everlasting fire, than such as entered into Noah's ark were from the deluge of water.

5. The apostle's argument, Heb. ix, holds as truly of Christ's church as of his sacrifice. If the ark which Noah built did save all such from the deluge as entered into it, how much more shall that holy and catholic church which Christ hath built, and sanctified by his most precious blood, give life eternal to all such as in this world become live members of it! Such members they are made, not by external baptism, or by becoming members of the visible church, but by internal grace or sanctification. But never did the Jew dote half so much on external circumcision and legal sacrifices, or the Aaronical priesthood, as the modern Romanist doth on the sacraments of the gospel, and on his imaginary priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, or other like notes or sensible cognizances of the visible church. Now it were more than wonder, if the excess of this his blind zeal unto these externals did not draw him to much greater, more direct diametral opposition unto Christ, unto an higher pitch of inveterate malice against the members of his holy catholic church, or kingdom spiritual, than the high priest or elders exercised against his person whilst he was present in the flesh. Thus much for this time of the allegory or argument of proportion drawn from Noah's ark.

As for the general maxim, *extra ecclesiam non est salus*, "there is no salvation out of the church," although it be absolutely and punctually true only

of that one holy catholic church, which was exactly typified by Noah's ark; yet the same maxim is literally appliable unto, and in certain cases undoubtedly true of some visible church or other. All true visible churches have some right or interest in it.

CHAP. XIII. 852

How far, and in what cases, that maxim used by the fathers, extra ecclesiam non est salus, "*out of the church there is no salvation,*" *is true of the visible church, or churches visible.*

1. THE persons that are *extra ecclesiam* are of two sorts: first, such as never were members of any visible church, as all infidels, modern Jews, and Mahometans, &c.; secondly, such as have been members of some visible church, but have been either cut off from it by ecclesiastical censure, or have separated themselves from the visible church or churches wherein they lived.

In respect of the first sort, that is, of all such as never were members of any visible church, the maxim *extra ecclesiam non est salus*, "there is no salvation out of the church," is not universally true; yea, taken universally, it is universally false in respect of time; that is, it could never be verified of all and every one that was *extra ecclesiam visibilem*, "out of the visible church," in any age.

There was a time wherein God's visible church was confined to one people or nation, to the offspring of Abraham. Now it were an heresy to say that no sons of men, besides of the sons of Abraham, or such as did associate themselves unto the visible church then resident only in Abraham's family, were saved; during the time of the law, or before the law was given, righteous Job was no son of Jacob, yet the son of God.

And it were uncharitableness, though no heresy, to say, that Jethro, Rechab, or Jonadab, were all sons of perdition, or were sons (as our Saviour said of the Jews) of their father the devil, because they were not the sons of Abraham, or had not the visible church of Israel for their mother.

In respect of this present time, to say we know no means by which any inhabitant of China or of *terra incognita* can be saved, is a great deal more safe, than to think God hath no means unknown unto us by which he may and doth save some, even in those countries wherein there is no visible church or Christian congregation, or whose inhabitants have no commerce with any Christians. We see by experience that God teacheth such as are born deaf and dumb many things by the eye, or other external suggestion, which such as have the use and benefit of ears and tongue could not learn either by sight or other external sense. Now albeit the apostle's rule, *faith cometh by hearing*, be most undoubtedly true, and true likewise, that *without faith it is impossible to please God*, yet were it an hard censure hence to conclude that none such as are born deaf and dumb can be saved. The apostle's saying then, *that faith cometh by hearing*, must be limited by its proper subject, that is, men to whom God hath given the gift of hearing. So must the maxim now in question, *extra ecclesiam non est salus*, "out of the church there is no salvation," be limited or restrained in its proper subject. Howbeit, the exact limitation of it might best be made or taken by such as have occasion to dispute with the Jews or heathens. It is only or especially true in respect of such Jews, Turks, or heathens, and their several progenies, as have commerce with Christians. The former maxim, with reference to such men, is universally true, if we

take the visible church universally or indefinitely; unless such men associate themselves to some visible 853
church or other, they cannot be saved. And in some cases it may be undoubtedly true, in respect of some particular visible church, but so true only, *ex accidenti*, or *hypothesi*, "by accident, or upon supposition." As if a Jew or Mahometan by profession and birth should live in this kingdom, having no possible means of associating himself to any other congregation of Christians, than such as conform themselves to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, it were both safe and orthodox to lay the former law or gospel as hard unto him, as the papists do unto us; to tell him in plain and peremptory terms, that there were no means for him to escape the horrors of hell and miseries of the world to come, unless he would become a member of Christ's church, planted here amongst us. Or in case he, and other more, such as he is, were to leave us, and to reside in some other state or kingdom, we were bound in conscience to apply the like medicine unto him or them, and to tell them there were no hope for them to escape the wrath of God, but by becoming the sons of God; no hope to become the sons of God, but by becoming the children of some visible church endued with power and authority to baptize them into Christ's death and resurrection. Of heathens then or infidels, or of whosoever not as yet professing Christianity, yet having commerce with Christians, and living within the call of the visible church, that of Cyprian is universally true, "He that hath not the church for his mother, cannot have God for his father;" albeit by *the church* in this saying, we mean a visible church.

2. Of such as have been actual members of some visible church, but have either separated themselves

from it, or have been cast out of it by ecclesiastic censure or coactive power, neither of the former maxims, —*Extra ecclesiam non est salus: et qui non habet ecclesiam matrem, non habet Deum patrem;* "Out of the church there is no salvation: and he that hath not the church for his mother, hath not God for his father"—is universally true, if we speak of the church visible, whether particular, indefinite, or universal. Both must be limited by the reasons or occasions which did move the parties to forsake the church wherein they were baptized, or by the causes for which they were excluded, or cast out of it. It is here supposed, that if the causes why they are excluded from one visible church be just and good, and the exclusion itself legal and formal, the parties thus justly excluded from one, cannot lawfully be admitted into another visible church.

3. Swarez, in his treatise (to my remembrance) *de causa formali,* and in that question, *An dentur plures formæ in uno composito,* "whether there be more forms than one in one body," mentions a synod which anathematizeth all such as dogmatically do hold *tres animas in uno vivente,* "three souls in one living body." And had the spiritual sword been put into Lactantius' hands, it is very likely he would have put all such philosophers, geographers, or astronomers, as had held the antipodes, to have sought out a visible church in that region. At the least, if his arm had been so long as the Jesuits make the pope's, he would have cut them off from all communion with any visible church or congregation of Christians within the hemisphere wherein he lived. And no question but every visible church hath such power and authority, that it may (so it will tyrannically abuse the power which God hath given it) cut off every inferior

member *de facto.* But being cut off, though from the universal church visible, upon no greater occasions or juster causes than these late mentioned, they do not thereby cease to be members of the church which is to us invisible; that is, of the church which is holy and 854
catholic κατ' ἐξοχὴν, no, nor to be visible members of the holy catholic church taken in a secondary sense, that is, of the catholic church which is visible to us. Of which, and of the ground of this distinction between an actual member of the present visible church, and a visible member of the holy catholic church, we shall speak hereafter.

But to hold *tres animas in uno vivente,* "three souls in one living body," is not so great an error in divinity, or so meritorious of excommunication, as either to affirm that there be two Persons, or to deny that there be two natures in our Saviour Christ. He that should dogmatically hold the affirmative or negative specified, deserveth to be utterly cut off from every visible church. And one and the same stroke of the spiritual sword which cuts him off from being a member of the visible church, doth incontinently cut him off from being a member of the holy catholic church, in what sense soever taken; or, to speak more properly, he doth deprive himself *ipso facto* of all communion with Christ, or his body the church, by denying the unity of his Person, or by confounding his natures. And having thus apparently excommunicated himself from that holy church, which is only known unto God, to us invisible, the visible church stands bound in duty of conscience, and allegiance to Christ, to deprive him of all communion with her or any member of hers, either in the hearing of the word of Christ, or in the administration of the sacraments; bound she is to withdraw from him all benefits or comfort of Christ's death

and passion, which are committed to her dispensation, until he repent, and be reconciled again unto Christ.

4. From this truth, some excellent writers against the usurped power of the Romish church in the use or exercise of Peter's keys, some, I say, as well before Luther's time as since, have gathered this general doctrine—that the visible church hath only power to declare who are separated or excommunicated *ipso facto* from the holy catholic church; she hath no power so to separate or excommunicate any *excommunicatione majori*, "by the greater excommunication," unless they have first excommunicated themselves, or voided their hopes or interest in the holy catholic church by heretical positions or opinion, or by lewd and scandalous misdemeanors.

Of this opinion was that famous Weselius, which was intituled *lux mundi* before Luther arose, or the light of the gospel which we now enjoy did break forth. But though the doctrine be true, yet he, and such as follow him, extend the truth of it a little too far, and beyond its proper subject. There is a mean between this opinion, and the contrary extreme of the Romanist, which cannot be found out, without some division of such errors, or other causes, as either justly deserve, or at least may be pretended to deserve excommunication, or utter separation from the visible church.

Some errors in divinity, as we say, are heresiès *ex specie;* of so deadly a nature, that they induce a separation from the holy catholic faith, even in their very first degree. Of this rank are all such errors in religion as are directly opposite or contrary to those fundamental points whose positive belief is necessary to salvation; which he that believes not, is *infidelis secundum infidelitatem puræ negationis*, that is, such

an infidel as they are which cannot say the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or Ten Commandments by heart, or know not the general contents of them; and which peremptorily to deny, or contradict, doth argue *infidelitatem pravæ dispositionis*, an infidelity of contradiction. We say in logic, every contrariety, if it be 855
direct and full, doth necessarily include a contradiction, as he that saith *Nix est alba*, "Snow is white," doth as fully contradict him that saith *Nix est nigra*, "Snow is black," as he that should say *Nix non est nigra*, "Snow is not black." For *album esse*, "to be white," is somewhat more than *non esse nigrum*, "not to be black." The rule is appliable in divinity, and of good use in this present argument. If not to believe there is one God, if not to believe that this one God is the author of goodness, and the rewarder of such as seek him, be *infidelitas puræ negationis*, a privative infidelity, and argue an absolute privation of life spiritual; then to believe there be more gods than one, or that God is not the author of goodness, but it is all one whether we serve him or serve him not, is an error *ex specie*, in its kind heretical and deadly. If it be *infidelitas puræ negationis*, an infidelity privative not to believe the incarnation of Christ, (as certainly it is, for all such as do not believe it are infidels,) then to be but positively persuaded that Christ is not truly man, is an error *ex specie*, heretical, a deadly heresy, *infidelitas pravæ dispositionis*, an infidelity of contradiction or contrariety. Again, if not to believe the Son of God is truly God, or if not to believe that this true Son of God was incarnate for us, necessarily argue a privation of life spiritual, and be (as we say) *infidelitas puræ negationis*, a privative infidelity; then if any man which acknowledgeth Christ be of opinion that he is not as truly God as he is man, this

man, by entertaining such an opinion, doth undoubtedly separate and disunite himself from the holy bond of catholic faith, and, by consequence, stands excommunicated *ipso facto* from the holy catholic church, and deprived of the communion of saints, whether the visible church doth her duty or no in depriving him of all communion with herself or with her members, yea, though the pastors or governors of the visible church could by bribery or other sinister respects be misswayed, if not to abet or maintain him in it, yet to use connivance towards him.

Now of all such errors as are *ex specie* heretical, and necessarily induce a separation or disunion from the holy catholic faith or church, the former assertion of Weselius is true; to wit, 'That the visible church doth not by her authority cut them off from being members of the holy catholic church, but only declare them to be no members of that church.' And of all persons excommunicated by the visible church, or that separate themselves from the visible church for fear of being censured upon these causes or occasions, the former maxims are universally true. There is no hope of salvation for them until they return again into the bosom of the visible church by unfeigned sorrow, and by true submission and repentance. Yet suppose they never return again to the visible church, they are not therefore deprived of salvation because they are *extra ecclesiam visibilem*, "out of the visible church," but because they were cast or went out of it, upon such causes or occasions as did first make them to be *extra ecclesiam sanctam et catholicam*, "out of the holy and catholic church." Or in case by repentance they return again into the visible church, whence they were cast out, and obtain salvation; yet are they not therefore saved because they are in the visible church,

save only as it is the mean or an instrument of re-uniting them unto the holy catholic church, or of ingraffing them into Christ.

Other opinions or errors in religion there be, that be *ex specie* very dangerous, yet not deadly, unless they be in a high degree, or perhaps in the highest degree not deadly in themselves, unless they be mingled with some spice of some other pertinacy or disobedient humour more than ariseth merely from the strength or 856
habit of the error, or from the nature of the object about which the error is. To be persuaded that the blessed Virgin did not continue so pure a virgin (all her lifetime) after our Saviour's birth as she was before, is certainly an error *ex specie*, very dangerous; yet nothing so deadly as the error of Eutyches, which held that our Saviour Christ did not, after his resurrection and glorification, continue as truly man as he was before.

So long as a man holds errors of this second rank only to himself, being not sufficiently enlightened by the messengers of truth to discern their danger, nor admonished by pastoral authority to abandon them, as it cannot be denied that he is soul-sick, so it is not safe to affirm that he is sick of them unto death, no not after the second or third monition, unless his monitions be seasoned or tempered with a large measure of fatherly and loving instructions, grounded upon perspicuity of truth. Frequent contempt or neglect of such admonitions, though it be in matters not altogether deadly, may induce a separation from the holy catholic faith, unto which nothing is more opposite than disobedience in cases wherein obedience by the law of God is due.

5. Every one that is not rooted in faith, and not

truly ingraffed in Christ, although for speculative opinions he be an orthodox, yet is he in respect of salvation but as an embryon, or as the seed or homogeneal element from which vegetables or living bodies spring. Now among such seeds or models of vegetables or sensitive bodies as are not yet organized, or, being organized, are not truly informed or quickened, some may be so inwardly or deeply tainted, that no benignity of native soil, no comfort of sun, no refreshing of wholesome winds or dew of heaven, can quicken or give them specifical perfection: other seeds there are of the same kind, which though tainted, yet they are not so deeply tainted but that they might be organized or quickened by such comforts or cherishments as could not revive the former; albeit, even the latter also are certain shortly to perish, if they be transplanted from a good soil to a bad, or be exposed to noisome winds, or other uncomfortable occurrences or contagious adherents. Now every error (as was intimated before) in matters of religion is a tainting, or an infection or sickness of the soul; and of errors, some are so deadly, that neither the bosom of the church, nor all the benefits of Christ's death committed to her custodies, (though imparted in as ample manner as she can distribute,) can revive or quicken the parties tainted with them. Other errors again there be not so dangerous in their kind, or not so full grown, but that the parties tainted with them may retain or recover life, so they may continue in the visible church, and enjoy the communion of saints, and participate with them in the word of life, in devout prayers, and in the ordinary use of sacraments. Howbeit, even these errors also become deadly, if the parties in whom they settle be with Hagar and Ishmael cast out of

Abraham's family into the wilderness, or be constrained to dwell in Mesech, or to have their habitation amongst the tents of Kedar.

Now in respect of such as are cast out of the visible church, because they will not abandon or cast out such naughty, though not deadly opinions out of their souls, the former rule of Weselius concerning excommunication fails, if it be extended as far as some have done it. For some have taught, or by their speeches given others just occasion to conceive their meaning to be, that the visible church hath only a declarative sentence in all excommunications; whereas this rule is to be restrained unto excommunications only of the former rank, that is, such as are directed against ma- 857
nifest heresies *ex specie*, heretical and deadly. To kill a man already dead in heresy, the church cannot, but only declare him to be dead. The visible church, notwithstanding, hath power simply and absolutely to excommunicate some of her members, albeit it doth not fully appear unto her whether the opinions wherewith their souls are tainted do either necessarily induce or argue a schism or separation from the holy catholic faith. Yea, though this point be doubtful, or though it be more probable that the opinions as held by them do not induce a separation from the holy catholic church or faith; yet may the visible church use her authority of binding them, before they have bound themselves, and deprive them of all communion with the sound and orthodox members of the church, lest haply they might by their vicinity infect others. It would argue more folly than pity, or at least more pity than discretion, or wholesome discipline, if the church should be indulgent to such as are over indulgent to their naughty opinions or lewd affections,

especially if they hurt others either by mispersuasion or ill example.

6. Now of all and every party that is cast out of the church upon these occasions, the former maxim, *extra ecclesiam non est salus*, "out of the church is no salvation," is most true. The most wholesome and most effectual medicine that can be applied unto souls sick of this sickness, is to be instant in denouncing unto them, that albeit they be not as yet spiritually dead, yet there is small hope of life, unless they seek readmission with sighs and tears into the bosom of the visible church. And though it be true, that such as do not in time seek their readmission by repentance do therefore perish, because they are separated from the visible church, yet do they not perish *quatenus separantur a visibili ecclesia, sed quatenus separantur ab ecclesia sancta catholica*, that is, their separation from the visible church is a prævial disposition to the spiritual death, or such a cause of it as the pilot's absence is to the passengers' whose company he hath for their misdemeanors abandoned; yet doth not their spiritual death properly consist in this separation, nor immediately and instantly result from it, but it consists in or immediately results from their separation from the holy catholic faith and church; unto both which the visible church wherein they lived, so they had still remained in the bosom of it, might have united or wedded their souls, or yet may reunite them, so they will with submissive or hearty repentance return unto it.

CHAP. XIV.

Declaring, by one special instance, the particular manner and opportunities by which the church visible or representative did first encroach upon the royal attributes of the holy catholic and apostolic church. For what causes Christians may separate themselves, or suffer themselves to be separated from any visible church, whereof they were sometimes members.

1. FROM this distinction of errors in religion, which either deserve or may be pretended to deserve the sentence of excommunication, we may discover the manner how the great monster with seven heads and ten horns, the grand *mystery of iniquity*, was brought forth out of the womb of the visible, and, as the Romanists call it, *the catholic church.*

The manner was thus: seeing the ancient and orthodox fathers had in the name and power of the holy 858
catholic and apostolic church (as they were in duty bound) excommunicated the Encratists, Eutychians, Arians, Nestorians, &c., which had manifestly excommunicated or divorced themselves from the holy catholic faith by adherence to their wicked opinions, the successors of these holy bishops, in place of authority, but not in holiness and understanding in matters spiritual, took upon them to pronounce the like censure upon every opinion which they disliked, and expected the whole visible church should hold the persons of men whom they excommunicated, though (God wot) upon most dislike occasions, in as great execration as those whom the ancient fathers excommunicated.

2. A notable instance to justify this assertion we have in the seventh synod, or second Nicene council. The point in debate was, whether such prelates and other ministers as had favoured the *iconoclastæ*, and

withstood the worshipping of images, were to be received again into the church, and to be restored to their dignity, upon their submission. The books being produced, by which it did appear that Athanasius, Cyril, and other ancient pillars of the orthodoxal church, had received notorious heretics into their favour and communion again, a bishop of the province of Sicilia learnedly puts in this exception or caveat:

"The canons of the blessed fathers which hitherto have been produced, were enacted against the Novatians, the Encratists, and Arians[m]; but as for the masters of this present heresy, in what rank shall we place them?"

Upon which a deacon of the same church and province propounds this question:

"Whether is this new sprung heresy greater or less than those heresies which have been before it[n]?"

To all which, the great Herod of Constantinople, Tharasius, being reconciled *quoad hæc* to the Roman Pilate, pope Adrian, makes this learned answer; "Evil is always the same, always equal." "This is true," saith Epiphanius[o], (the venerable deacon of the most holy church of Catanes, vicar or deputy for the most holy blessed Thomas, archbishop of Sardinia,) "but especially true in causes ecclesiastical, or matters concerning the church, from whose decrees to swerve, in matters great or small, is all one, seeing the divine

[m] Qui hactenus lecti beatorum patrum canones, de Novatianis, Encratistis, et Arianis dati sunt: hujus autem hæresis magistros quo loco habebimus?

[n] Maxime autem in rebus ecclesiasticis, in quarum decretis tum parvis tum magnis errare idem est, si quidem in utrisque lex divina violatur. Tharasius sanctissimus patriarchas dixit; Malum perpetuo idem est et æquale.

[o] Epiphanius venerabilis Diaconus sanctissimæ Catanes ecclesiæ, et vicarius, beatissimi Thomæ archiepiscopi Sardiniæ, inquit; Minorne est quæ nunc novata est hæresis, an major illis quæ hactenus fuere?

law is violated in both cases." And after him, one John, a venerable monk, (vicegerent for the oriental thrones,) as if his part had been to act the parasite in the comedy, and to turn *magnas* into *ingentes*, gave this verdict; "This heresy is worse than all other heresies, and of all evils the very worst[p]," &c. But was this great patriarch Tharasius so stoically senseless, as not to be offended with this illiterate roughshod ass, that thus would claw him like a spaniel? For if this heresy were worse than all other heresies, or the worst of evils, the most excellently illiterate patriarch and the venerable deacon were grossly overseen in their sentence, "that all errors or heresies in matters ecclesiastic were equal." Or will any Christian be so senselessly partial, as to think that this illiterate factious council could be prophets or doctors infallible in their conclusions, when they bewray themselves to be gross heretics, or more than heathenish Stoics in the premises, that *malum semper est idem et æquale*, "that evil is always the same, always equal." Thus by the selfsame stroke of authority, by which this council did *de facto* thrust all other out of the visible church that would not worship images, they have declared themselves to be excommunicated *de jure* from the holy catholic church.

3. In this assertion, the ancient fathers unanimously accord, that defection or swerving from the catholic 859
faith doth exclude men from the catholic church, and by consequence from salvation; but about the extent or precise limits of holy catholic faith, or about the exact list of articles to be believed, their concord is not

p Joannes venerabilis monachus locum tenens thronorum orientalium dixit: Hæresis ista omnibus hæresibus pejor est, malorum omnium pessima utpote quæ œconomiam Servatoris nostri subvertat. — Synod. 7. Act. 1. tom. xviii. 273.

so general. What particular opinions did induce or argue a defection from catholic faith, or divorce from the catholic church, was never consented upon by the ancient fathers, nor could their joint authority in this case be so great as in the former. The later ages of such as in respect of us are ancient, are in this point various and superstitious. But of the use and effects, or just causes of excommunication, we shall have occasion to speak more particularly hereafter. The rules most pertinent to our present business, and which serve as an entry to the main controversy betwixt us and the Romanists, are two:

4. The former immediately concerns prelates or church governors. They are always to remember, that this power is given them, not for destruction, or to shew their own greatness, but for the edification of others, and therefore never to be used but upon special and weighty occasions. He that strikes fiercely with his spiritual sword at feathers, doth always either wound himself or wrest his arm; neither is it safe to measure the justice of prelates' proceedings by the event; or to collect, that God doth approve their sentence, because the party sentenced by them may often come to a woful or fearful end. They may die in their sins, and God's justice may be manifest in the manner of their death, and yet for all this their blood may be required at their hands which did thus *rule them with a rod of iron, or feed them*, as the apostle says, *with the sword, when they should have nourished them with the milk of the gospel*, or at least have used *salutari severitate*, wholesome severity towards them. The second caveat concerns private men; and it is, that they be more unwilling to separate themselves from the visible church, than to be cut off from the commonwealth wherein they live.

The occasions of voluntary separation ought to be more weighty and heinous, in respect of the parties from whom they voluntarily separate themselves, than are the causes of excommunication, for which inferiors are violently, yet justly separated from the church by their governors. Cato, as one saith, could not have committed so heinous a murder by killing another man, as by killing himself; for I think it had scarce been possible for him to have killed any Roman that had less deserved death than himself did; yet not in this respect only, but simply and absolutely, it was a greater sin in him, and is more unlawful for any man, to kill himself than to kill another. The rule is as true in this point of spiritual murder; that is, of unlawful separation (active or passive) from the visible church. Though it be a grievous sin in governors to deprive their inferiors of all communion with the visible church upon light and unnecessary occasions, yet it is a greater sin in inferiors to deprive themselves of the same communion upon the same or like occasions, especially if they be not certain elsewhere to enjoy the like or equivalent communion without disturbance. Such as intend a separation must always respect, as well *terminum ad quem*, as *terminum a quo*, whom they go to, as from whom they depart. It is a motto better befitting Christians in violent persecutions by heathens than in voluntary separation from Christian churches, *Quos fugiam habeo, quo fugiam non habeo;* "I know from whom I fly, but whither to fly I know not." To forsake the church wherein we have been baptized, for the foul abuses that we know by experience to be committed in it, 860
before we be certain in what other church we may be admitted, in which there is not in some kind or other the like or worse abuses, or more unsufferable griev-

ances, were as desperate a madness, as for a passenger to leap into the sea, because he knew the ship wherein he sailed, and the company with whom he must necessarily converse, were deeply infected with a deadly pestilence. And thus to do were a desperate prank, unless the party adventuring had very great skill in swimming, and were withal within ken of some comfortable shore or harbour.

All this may seem to make for our adversaries, or at least against our forefathers, which were sometimes members of the visible Romish church, but did either voluntarily separate themselves from it, or suffer themselves to be thrust out of it, whenas they might have retained communion with it, so they would have embraced their doctrine. Besides the danger of separation from it, both they and we have felt the severest strokes of the spiritual sword of excommunication which the governors of the Romish church could reach us.

5. The branches of the main controversy betwixt that church and ours are two: the first, 'Whether the reasons which moved our forefathers to depart from that church, or not to embrace her doctrines, were just and necessary.'

The second, 'Whether our forefathers, being howsoever separated from it, had commission, full power, and just authority from God to unite themselves into a true visible church; whether they did rightly pursue such warrant or commission as they had; and whether they and we have been and are a true visible church.' The just and necessary reasons for which men (whether few or many) may and ought to separate themselves from any visible church are in general two: the first, because they are urged or constrained to profess or believe some points of doctrine, or to adven-

ture upon some practices, which are contrary to the rule of faith, or law of God; and are either *ex specie* or *ex gradu et cumulo*, either for their specifical quality or for their burden or number, so heretical and deadly, that they necessarily induce a separation from the holy and catholic faith, without which the church can neither be holy nor catholic.

The second, in case they are utterly deprived of freedom of conscience in professing what they inwardly believe, or be bereft of some other means either altogether necessary or most expedient to salvation, both which may be had in some other visible church. In this latter case, that rule of our apostle given unto servants is true: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.* 1 Cor. vii. 20—23. Although we were persuaded that we could communicate with such a church without evident danger of damnation, yet inasmuch as we cannot so communicate with it upon any better terms than legal servants or bondslaves do with their masters, we are bound in conscience and religious discretion, when lawful occasions and opportunities are offered, to use our liberty, and to seek our freedom, rather than to live in bondage.

861 CHAP. XV.

That our forefathers' separation from the Romish church was most lawful and just, both in respect of prince and state, and in respect of every private person which feared God, or sought to retain the holy catholic and apostolic faith.

1. WHEN we debate the lawfulness of our forefathers' separation from the Romish church, we mean the then Romish church as visible.

Now unto the constitution of an entire and complete visible church, there is required, first, an unity of faith and doctrine; secondly, an unity of discipline or coactive laws, but especially an unity of subordination to one independent judicature.

Unity in points of faith and doctrine is more essential to the church as it is holy and catholic, that is, as it is orthodoxal.

Unity of laws or discipline, or of independent judicature, is more essential, and more necessary to the church, as visible. Hence, as we said before, there be as many distinct visible churches as there be independent judicatures, or supreme tribunals ecclesiastic. Unto a catholic church, or unto a church visibly catholic, such as the Romanists believe their church to be, both kinds of unity are necessary.

Whether this unity of discipline, full power of jurisdiction, or independent judicature, be seated in one person or more, that is, whether the form of ecclesiastical government be aristocratical or monarchical, is in our divinity all one. The unity and conformity may be as complete and perfect the one way as the other. But the Romanists, the English priests, and Jesuits, do not only hold this unity of independent judicature to be necessary to the constitution of the

visible catholic church, but that it must of necessity be radically in one person, to wit, in the pope, on whom, as upon the head and fountain, the unity of the holy catholic visible church doth depend; and for this reason they put his holiness in the definition of the holy catholic church, as you heard before out of cardinal Bellarmine, and the author of the Antidote. So that the pope's supremacy hath the same place in the whole visible church, as every *summum genus* in his proper predicament. As nothing can be truly said to be in the predicament, unless it participate the nature or definition of the *summum genus*, so none by this doctrine can be a true member of the holy church, unless he be subordinate to the pope; or *as no man can come to the Father, but by the Son*, so none can come unto the Son, but by this holy father the pope. Every one must be visibly united unto him, and to his laws, before he can be mystically or spiritually united unto Christ.

Howbeit, by putting the pope in the definition of the holy catholic church, with intention thereby to exclude us from it who deny his authority, they entangle and fetter themselves in another point of great consequence betwixt us and them; of which advantage we shall make some better use hereafter. The sum of our present dispute is this:

As professing of unity with the Romish church in all points of faith which that church teacheth, doth necessarily induce a disunion or separation from the holy catholic faith and church; so the acknowledg- 862
ment of such subordination as is required unto the head of it, in matters of discipline or jurisdiction, induceth flat rebellion, or high treason, against all free states or kingdoms Christian.

2. The reasons which moved our forefathers to for-

sake the visible Romish church, or to suffer themselves to be forsaken by it, and withhold us from returning to it, were and are in two respects most necessary and just. Just they were, and are necessary, first, on the behalf of every private man that had or hath a care of conscience and religion; secondly, on behalf of prince and state, in respect of Christian and religious policy. And first of the reasons in behalf of king and state; their positions which induce rebellion against free states and kingdoms, and which, were they jointly admitted, would leave supereminent or royal majesty only a naked title, without any reality of sovereignty or jurisdiction, are two.

First, that the spiritual power is above all secular or civil power. And this assertion, were it rightly limited, is in itself orthodoxal. But the more orthodoxal it is in itself, the more deadly it makes the second position, unto which they seek to wed it.

The second position is, that this supreme and spiritual power is totally seated in the clergy, as in a body distinct from the body politic; yea the most of them hold the plenitude of this power to be in the pope, from whom all spiritual power of jurisdiction is derived to the rest of the clergy, after the same manner as jurisdiction in causes temporal is derived to inferior magistrates from the monarch or supreme majesty in every kingdom.

The regiment of the church, as they say, is *regimen monarchicum*, a visible monarchy, of which the pope is the visible monarch. As the spiritual power which the church of Rome or pope usurpeth is intensively most absolute and independent, so is the object of it for extension most transcendent and illimited. Pope Innocent the Third, by virtue of this supposed plenary power, did challenge to be supreme judge in

censuring or punishing mortal sins: *Intendimus decernere de peccato, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura, et* (or *ut*) *nullus qui sit sanæ mentis ignorat, quin ad officium nostrum spectet de quocunque peccato mortali corripere quemlibet Christianum*, cap. novit. de Judiciis. "We intend," saith he, "to determine concerning sin, the censure whereof so unquestionably appertains to us, that no man well in his wits can be ignorant, that it is a part of our power or office to chastise or correct every Christian man for any mortal sin of what kind soever."

But if in this cathedral constitution he did not err, the Christian world might have as infallible a perpetual rule for guiding millers' hands and tailors' shears, and for preventing or punishing all cozenage in trades or crafts, as it hath for ending controversies in matters of faith or divinity.

3. It is an idle and frivolous distinction which some canonists have framed, to solve the truth of this pope's sentence: *Aliud est de re, actione aut contractu judicare, et aliud judicare de peccato;* "It is one thing to determine of the action or contract, another to determine or judge of the sin committed." For as father Paul[q] excellently observes, *quod inseparabile est distinguunt*, "they put a diversity without a difference." For if the pope may judge of every matter or contract as it is a sin, I hope he would prohibit it, if it were a sin, and compel men to observe his edicts or prohibitions. And doing thus, what remains to be done by any temporal power, whether supreme or subordinate, but only to look on, or to be as sheriffs to see his 863
decrees put in execution, or to be his hangman or

[q] See this point excellently handled by father Paul, whose Apology for the State of Venice (as I now perceive) is translated into the English tongue.

executioner. No magistrate doth punish but upon supposal of some fault or sin committed. *Lex non est justis posita*, saith the apostle, *sed injustis—The law punitive is not given against the just, but against the unjust.* And if the pope might be supreme judge of every mortal sin, every malefactor might have the benefit of appeal unto him in all matters criminal. He might punish princes for making unjust laws, or for not executing such laws as they themselves have made, or have found made unto their hands by their predecessors, or as he shall make, or appoint them to make.

4. Again; all of them agree in this, that the pope hath a supreme independent power to make coactive ecclesiastic laws for the welfare of the church; and inasmuch as all temporal power is subordinate to the power spiritual, which, as his subjects say, is originally and plenary in himself, he may by virtue of this supreme spiritual power disannul all such laws as any temporal state or kingdom shall make, if these to his holiness' unerring spirit shall seem contrary to the laws of God, or to the laws ecclesiastic made by himself or by his predecessors. Now in case any temporal princes or states shall, after some monitions, refuse to repeal such laws as they have enacted, but he dislikes, they stand obnoxious *ipso facto* to the sentence of excommunication.

The exercise of this terrible power hath been within these 400 years frequent in many kingdoms, and famous of late against the Venetians. That ancient and renowned state for wisdom and gravity, and of all states professing Romish faith always most venerable for devotion, had made such a law, as the law of mortmain here in England, for repressing the excess of Levi's portion, which was become like a huge deformed wen in a fair and comely body; and being

admonished by the pope to repeal this law, and another edict necessary for the preservation of peace, whereby the unruly clergy within their territories were subjected to the censure of the state, because the Venetians would not obey his monitions, and betray their ancient liberties, the duke and senate were excommunicated by his holiness. I do not well remember whether that state had made a decree that no provision should be carried out of their territories to Ancona; but put the case they had made such a law; inasmuch as Ancona is a city which belongs to Peter's patrimony, a seigniory or lordship of the church of Rome, this law must be controllable by the pope, because it is prejudicial to the church. And the temporal sovereignty of Venice must submit themselves unto the spiritual jurisdiction of the Romish church, or feel the stroke of Peter's sword.

5. The like dreadful consequence of these dangerous principles about the supremacy, or jurisdiction spiritual, did cause divers kings of this land, before Henry VIII, to separate themselves and their people from the visible Romish church in matters of jurisdiction, though not of doctrine. For an Englishman to have received any title of jurisdiction from the pope, or any foreign prelate subject unto him, was by the ancient laws of this land a *præmunire*[r]. I will only touch so much of the Romish church's practice in this state as foreign writers have taken notice of, which was enough to give our kings just occasion to make such laws of *præmunire* as the forecited author produceth.

Pope Innocent the Third (presuming upon his former rule, that it belonged unto him, *de quocunque* 864
peccato mortali corripere quemlibet Christianum, "to

[r] See sir Edward Coke's Reports in Lailor's case.

censure or punish every man for any mortal sin") charged John, king of England, and the French king, to keep the church's peace, under pain of his curse. And in the process excommunicates the French king for taking arms against king John. After, the same Innocent the Third (upon what displeasure I know not) excommunicates king John, arms the French king with the spiritual sword to make war, authorizing king John's own natural subjects to rebel against him, until the poor king was brought so low, that he was content to become the pope's farmer of his own kingdom; but being once admitted his tenant, and become farmer to the church of Rome, his privilege was greater, and his person more sacred, than it had been by being God's vicegerent; for the council of Lateran excommunicated all such as did or should molest or vex him, so long as he remained the church's rent-gatherer. This strange odds hath the holiness of that church of other things which by God's law was counted holy, that whatsoever doth but touch it, nay, whatsoever hath but vicinity with it, and relation or reference to it, straightway becometh holy, and capable of greater privileges than princes or the Lord's anointed are.

6. From this superexcellent holiness of their church, they now pretend that every clergy or churchman is exempt from all jurisdiction temporal; as if their persons on whom the pope or his bishops lay their holy hands become more holy and sacred than royal power itself, which, as the apostle saith, *is from God;* so sacred and holy, that no temporal sword may touch them, lest their calling should be polluted. Some professed reformers of their school divinity, since the light of the gospel brake forth, have not been afraid or ashamed to plead that this exemption of the clergy

from secular jurisdiction is *de jure divino*, "by divine law," and ratified by that text, *Spiritualis homo dijudicat omnia, ipse autem a nemine judicatur—He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man.* 1 Cor. ii. 15. But were the allegation true or pertinent, either there should be no spiritual men besides the pope, and so the subject of the proposition should be *homo singularis*, "one man only;" or if there be more spiritual men, they should all of them be popes to judge all others, and be judged of none, no not of the pope of Rome himself, unless he be nobody: for these are convertible; *Qui omnes dicit, neminem excipit; qui neminem dicit, omnes excipit;* "He that saith all, excepteth none; and he that saith none, excepteth all."

But, however, if all clergymen may by the pope be exempted from all jurisdiction temporal, and he may make as many clergymen as he list, or list to be made by him, and make such laws for them as it pleaseth him, who sees not how easily he may bereave princes of their natural subjects? The case betwixt them is on the pope's side like a game at draughts or chess, wherein the one party hath gotten the start or advantage to make as many kings as he list, and the other having lost his opportunity of taking the like advantage must be sure to lose the game, if the play hold.

7. Again; seeing they make the pope to be the supreme head in all causes ecclesiastic or spiritual, and over all ecclesiastic persons, I see no reason but that every priest and Jesuit of the English, Scottish, and Irish nation, should be indicted for mocking his sacred majesty as often as they instyle him their *sovereign lord.* For every one that in good earnest calls the 865
king his lord is presumed to acknowledge himself to be the king's subject. Now every subject is a subject

in respect of jurisdiction. To be the king's subject, and not to be subject to the king's jurisdiction, implies a contradiction; so that in final conclusion, for English priests to call the king their lord, and yet to profess and believe that their persons belong not properly to his jurisdiction, but to the pope's, is all one as if they should say, 'Noah indeed was Japhet's father, and Japhet did well so to call him; but Japhet was not Noah's son, nor did he owe him any filial obedience:' as certainly he did not, if he had been exempted from Noah's paternal jurisdiction, after the same manner as the Romish priests are from jurisdiction temporal. But to submit the whole temporal power, and laws made by it, to the spiritual power, as it resideth in the pope, is to make all princes and monarchs more subject unto him than inferior or secular magistrates are to them; not so much as mean lords in fee, but mere tenants at will.

Yet is this subjection of all temporal power unto the pope's spiritual power, not the opinion only of the Romish clergy, or flattering canonists; even their civilians are infected with this heretical and traitorous doctrine. Witness that otherwise learned and ingenuous civilian Balthazar Ayala, sometimes chief justice of the Spanish army under the prince of Parma, lib. 1. de Jure et Officiis Belli, cap. 2. §. 27.

8. If we put both these positions together, to wit, 'That the pope hath power to exempt all ecclesiastic persons from jurisdiction temporal, and to subject all temporal laws to spiritual laws of his making,' we may repeal or antiquate an ancient and usual distinction of the sword spiritual and temporal. For by these devices they have put such a spiritual handle upon the temporal sword, and given the pope so fast hold of it, that if he and Christian kings should at any

time fall at variance, his holiness (so long as this doctrine stands authentic) may be sure to have the drawing of it, and poor Christian princes, to whom the sword by right (more ancient than the popedom is) properly belongs, must be content to defend themselves with the scabbard.

For these and many like reasons our forefathers' departure from the visible Romish church was most just and necessary on the behalf of prince and state, and in respect of lawful and Christian policy.

9. The reasons on the behalf of every private man were in two respects again most necessary: first, because that church did and doth utterly deny, even to her own children, the free use of means, either altogether necessary, or most expedient to salvation. These she will not give unto her own children; no, nor sell them at any lower rate than the devil sets upon his wares; that is, they must fall down and worship her.

Secondly and principally, because the church did and doth rigidly and peremptorily exact our belief and profession of many doctrinal points, and upon such belief enjoin many practices, of both which some are *ex specie*, for quality, so heretical and diabolical, others *ex gradu et cumulo*, "for degree or multitude," so deadly, as they manifestly induce a separation from the holy catholic church, or necessarily argue a contradiction to the holy apostolic and primitive faith. So that besides the excessive price which the Romish church sets upon her own children's necessary food, they may not eat it after they have bought 866
it, unless it be mingled with deadly poison.

The doctrine of the pope's supremacy, of the church's or the pope's absolute infallibility in matters of faith and manners, is an error in itself, *ex specie*,

heretical, and more deadly than heathenism; and includeth *infidelitatem pravæ dispositionis,* "infidelity of contradiction," as malignant as the infidelity of the Jews; and the consequent of it is an entire apostasy from the apostolic faith. This I have elsewhere[s] endeavoured to shew at large; the sum of which work shall, by God's assistance, be recollected in this treatise. I now meddle only with this transcendent heresy, as it is diffused through other errors. The very participation of it is as the pharisaical leaven, by which all other erroneous opinions or conjectures which that church hath sucked, either from heretics of old, or from some mistakings or misreadings of ancient fathers, are malignified and made much worse than they were in their first authors. Our first instance shall be in the manifold and daily transgressions of that rule of faith given by our apostle, Rom. xiv. 5, into all which transgressions this doctrine doth lead and draw them blindfold, as the Philistines did Samson after they had put out his eyes. The apostle's rule is, *Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.* And this full persuasion or assurance of faith is in the cases there mentioned necessary, *because whatsoever is not of faith is sin,* ver. 23. This last maxim is most undoubtedly true; and the former precept most exactly to be observed in such cases as the apostle there speaks of; that is, where the positive practice (unless our warrant be authentic in itself, and evident to us) is very dangerous or deadly; whereas, on the contrary, the forbearance of such practice is either safe, or not prejudicial to our souls, but to our bodies only, or estate temporal. But in what cases

[s] In the third book upon the Creed, section the last. [vol. ii.]

doth the authority of the Romish church, where it bears sway, draw men to transgress the former rules of faith or conscience? In many.

10. To rob God of his honour, or do him prejudice in his glorious titles of *mercy*, *bounty*, and the like, is unquestionably a grievous sin; and being such, no doctrine or practice ought to be admitted or imposed upon us which with probability may induce or infer it; especially if the end or benefit for whose attainment the suspected doctrine or practice is imagined behoveful or useful, may as certainly be obtained by some other more safe and no less effectual or convenient means. If from these grounds we should enter friendly conference with an ingenuous papist, and tell him, as the truth is, that we protestants do teach, 'that good works are most necessary to salvation; and that the more such works we do, the greater certainly shall be our reward, so we do them in sincerity, and acknowledgment of our bounden duty towards God, humbly confessing ourselves (after we have done all, even our very best) to be *unprofitable servants*.' If from these allegations we shall thus infer, that glory, honour, immortality, and eternal happiness in the life to come, being all that he seeks after by well-doing, seeing we seek for the very selfsame things by a safer and less suspicious way, why should he not be content to abandon all conceit of merit, and to renounce the term as an offensive and suspicious title for a poor suppliant to use before the almighty majesty of God. To this and like queries all the answer you shall get is this—and this you shall have from the more judicious and ingenuous secular papists—that for their own parts they could be well content to relinquish the opinion or term of *merit*, so they were left unto themselves; but they 867
must use the one and maintain the other in obedience to

the church. So strong a hand hath the church his mother over his faith and conscience, that he had rather adventure to stand upon real terms of *meum* and *tuum*, or come to juridical contestation with God his Creator and Redeemer, than disobey or dissent from her in the use of words, or in matters of conceit or opinion only.

11. Again, no Christian denies that our Saviour is able to hear our prayers at all times and in all places; that he is more favourable and compassionate unto us than any saint in heaven or earth can be; that his Father always heareth him. It is likewise a fundamental article of our belief, that we ought at all times to pray unto him, that he would pray unto his Father for us; that it is our duty to offer up our prayers and the best sacrifice of our souls and spirits in honour of his great and glorious name; that to come unto the Father by his mediation is to worship him in truth and spirit. All these positions are *ex fide et de fide*, points of necessity to be believed. And if we were always employed in some of these practices, happy were we, although we did nothing else. No saint, we may be sure, would be offended with us for praying continually unto Christ, unto whom they continually pray or give thanks. But whether in praying unto saints, as the Romanists do, we do not offend both Christ and them, is not so clear and unquestionable.

12. To request the saints deceased to pray for us, without express warrant or assurance that they can hear our prayers, is superstitious; to offer up our prayers unto them by way of honour or tribute, without assurance of faith, is flat idolatry. Yet admitting it were lawful not only to pray, but to offer our prayers unto their images; yet to fall down before them and worship them is certainly a practice so quite

contrary to the rule of faith, and God's holy commandments, that he which feareth God (who hath expressed himself in this point above others to be *a jealous God*) would, in ordinary discretion and reason, before he durst adventure upon so dangerous a practice, demand as express a dispensation or countermand to the former precept, as Abraham had to assure him he should not commit murder by sacrificing his only son.

Lastly, admitting the invocation of true and unquestionable saints, (as for example, the apostles,) and the adoration of their images, to be no sacrilege, or wrong to God; yet to honour every one whom the pope shall canonize for a saint with all the former points of honour which they exhibit to St. Peter, St. Paul, &c., is a great wrong unto those glorious saints, and heresy, or rather an idolatry *ex specie* deadly. And yet, for adventuring upon all these dangerous practices, they have no other assurance of faith or warrant of scripture, besides their unwarrantable and blind belief of the church and pope's infallibility. Nor can the ingenuous papists give us any other answer to such reasonable demands as were now proposed in this point of invocation of saints, or adoration of images, than was given before, that he doth all this in obedience to his mother the church.

I should proceed to the like faithless and desperate practices in the mass, for which they can have no true assurance or warrant from God or his laws, but only rely upon the supposed infallibility of this church, which, notwithstanding, may be manifestly convinced of gross and stupid heresy in the doctrine of transubstantiation. But because the doctrine is *ex specie* heretical, and the practice deadly, I shall reserve the

refutation of both, and the explication of the ancient
868 and orthodoxal opinions concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, or communication of his body and blood, unto a peculiar treatise.

13. Generally, the more dangerous or deadly any practice doth seem to be whilst we compare it with the ordinary and common rule of man's actions, the more evidently it ought to appear unto him that undertakes it, by what special rule or warrant it is exempted from the common rule or general prohibition of other facts and practices in nature and appearance like it. If a judge should charge the sheriff or other inferior officer to see execution done upon some malefactor, it were no wisdom for the inferior officer to adventure upon the judge's command, unless he knew that the judge had special commission and warrant from the king to sentence him to death, and that he had legally so sentenced him. Yet would it be a point of ill manners and indiscretion for an inferior justice or officer to require the like special warrant or express rule of law for whipping a vagrant person, or putting some idle fellow in the stocks. The judge's word or command might in this case be a sufficient warrant, especially to one not skilful in the laws, nor too scrupulous in yielding obedience to such as are skilful in them. It is nicety, ill manners, and indiscretion, to exact an express rule of scripture or faith for standing at the Creed, for kneeling at the Lord's board, for using the cap and surplice. In these cases, consent of the church or tradition will suffice, so there be not any express law or commandment to the contrary. He that exacts in these points as express rules of faith or warrant of scripture for his obedience to ecclesiastical authority, as he would, or as every man ought to do, for adven-

turing upon worshipping of images, invocation of saints, or the like, hath made his brain or fancy the chief seat or mansion of his religion, which should be seated in the heart. To run thus far in seeming opposition to the Romanist, is not truly to oppose him, but to meet with him in the point of disobedience to God's laws. The one, by disobeyiug the church in these cases wherein it hath authority to command obedience, disobeys those laws or mandates of God, which give the church authority to make laws in things indifferent, neither expressly forbidden nor commanded by the law of God; the other, by vowing absolute blind obedience to the church, disobey God's particular and express laws, even the most fundamental laws of piety and religion, the laws of nature and of nations.

14. To kill a private man without warrant of authority is a heinous and fearful sin, but far more heinous to kill a prince, or to raise tumults in a state, or incense the multitude to take arms against their sovereign lord; yet upon these and worse practices will any well catechised Romanist adventure, without any further warrant than the church's command or approbation, which he believes to be infallible. But that the church hath absolute infallibility, and full power to command his conscience, or authorize his action in these cases, what special warrant hath he from God or his laws? The best they bring is this; *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam—Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.* Matt. xvi. 18. But doth this place either prove Peter to be the rock on which the church is built, or the popes to be Peter's perpetual successors in that confession which Peter then uttered, which was the rock indeed on which Christ's church is built,

and which did make Peter to be such a rock or living stone as he was in the house of God? I could be con-
869 tent to try this issue with any Jesuit, whether he could by better probability from this text infer that the pope is Peter's successor in the infallibility of holy doctrine, than I shall infer from another text following in the same chapter, that the pope is the firstborn of Satan, perpetually obnoxious to the check which our Saviour gave unto Peter: *Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.* Matt. xvi. 23.

This was but a friendly check of Peter; but will prove the judicial censure of the pope and his disciples, unless they recant this wicked doctrine. Our Saviour bestowed the name of Πέτρος, or *rock*, upon the son of Jona (as the Jesuits will have it) in the former place, whilst he uttered that worthy confession, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.* By faithful adherence to this confession he became a living stone, a part of the foundation of Christ's church, the first in order of twelve. But *nominis omen habuit*, he did best brook this name after our Saviour's resurrection. A little after the uttering of the former confession, when out of his kind nature, (as we would term it,) but certainly out of a carnal imagination, (as the Spirit would censure it,) he sought to dissuade his master from suffering death, and so to hinder him from dissolving the works of Satan, and overthrowing his kingdom, our Saviour calls him *Satan;* as if he had said, 'Peter, thou counsellest me to that very thing, whereunto Satan himself, so I would give him audience, would persuade me with more rhetoric than thou hast.' What if I should say that all the popes

are Peter's successors, and that so much may be proved out of this 16th chapter of St. Matthew, will it therefore follow that none of them are Antichrists, or sons of Satan? No, *distingue tempora, et concordabunt scripturæ;* "distinction of times is the reconciliation of scriptures." The first and ancient popes were Peter's successors in the former confession, all or most of them living stones in the house of God. The later popes are Peter's successors in counselling Christ's church to undertake those practices in Christ's name, whereunto the devil doth always counsel men by internal suggestions of the flesh. Peter's temporary infirmity is become their hereditary heresy. Certainly their succession in Peter's chair doth no more argue them to be his successors in the stability of faith, than succession in Moses' chair proves the scribes and Pharisees to have been Moses true disciples, or than the Jews' lineal descent from Abraham proves them to be Abraham's children. The analogy of faith will warrant this doctrine for conclusion, that these later popes and their followers *are of their father the devil;* for they go about to murder kings and princes which take upon them to defend the truth. This did not Peter; this would not any bishop of Rome have done within five hundred years after Christ.

870

SECTION III.

That the present visible church of England retains the holy catholic faith, which the Romish church hath defiled; and by defiling it, hath lost that true union with the primitive and apostolic church which the visible church retaineth.

CHAP. XVI.

That our church was in the Romish church before Luther's time, and yet in it, neither as a visible church altogether distinct from it, nor as any native member of it.

IT is in the first place objected, that we had no church at all before Luther's time.

Secondly, that neither Luther nor Christian princes which embraced his doctrine had any authority to erect or found a new church.

If we say, as we must say and believe, that we had a true church before Luther of a monk became a reformer, it will be demanded where our church was, and of what persons it did consist.

To the former part of this importunate demand, "Where was your church before Luther's time?" the reverend and learned Dr. Field pithily answers, "Our church was in the same place then wherein now it is." His explication will justify his meaning against all gainsayers. Howbeit, I must frame my answer according to my former principles, and fit it to some captious questions or objections made by some of our adversaries since this worthy died.

2. If our church before Luther's time were in the same place wherein now it is, it will further be demanded, whether it were a church distinct from the then Romish church, or a member of it.

That we had a visible church before Luther's time in this kingdom, altogether distinct from the Romish visible church planted in this kingdom before Luther was born, or so distinct as *respublica Venetorum* is *a regno Galliæ*, as the state of Venice is from the kingdom of France, seems very improbable to the Romanists, and somewhat hard for us to prove; unless we will derive our pedigree from the Albigenses, the Picardi, or the poor men of Lyons, which to do I know not how safe it is, or how well pleasing it would be to the present visible English church, unless we had better records of their tenets than I have seen, or than the visible Romish church, that *de facto* condemns them for heretics, was willing to propagate to posterity. On the other side, if our church before Luther's time was a member of the then Romish church, we shall be further questioned what authority our king and state had either to dismember their church, or to make a new entire distinct church of an old dismembered part of their church. In these and like objections they always suppose two things as unquestionable which we utterly deny.

The first, that the whole multitude of Christians 871
throughout these western parts, as England, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, &c., excepting such as were by their church disclaimed for heretics or schismatics, were all members of the then visible Romish church; and that there was such an union betwixt all and every one of this multitude, as sufficeth to make all individuals within these states or kingdoms true members of one visible, or of the then visible Romish church.

The second, they suppose that our union with some present visible church is a native degree or part of our union with the holy catholic church; or that our

union with some present visible church is necessary or essential, not accidental to our being or not being members of the holy catholic church.

For our more orderly and safe proceeding, we are in the first place to shake, and hereafter (by God's help) to raze these two rotten foundations, whereon all their arguments, either for annoying ours, or for supporting their church, are grounded.

3. Our first counterfort shall be this: all the particular congregations recounted by reformed writers, which before Luther's time had either separated themselves from the visible Romish church of their times, or had been disclaimed by it for schismatics or heretics, being sequestered from this dispute, our church might be and was in the visible Romish church, (as Bellarmine and other professed sons of that church define it,) and yet be in it neither so as to make one entire visible church distinct from it, nor as any integral part or natural member of it.

If we take all which the Romish church doth challenge for her sons before Luther's time, there was in that multitude rather a church truly visible, than one true visible church, if we measure the truth of the visible church according to our former principles, and as we ought to measure it, by the conformity which it hath with the one truly holy and apostolic church. Our meaning is, the whole multitude of Christians in these western parts before Luther's time (all those being excluded which the Romish church representative did condemn for heretics or schismatics) had no such unity as truly answers to the unity of a body natural, but an unity only answerable to the unity of an heap or congest of heterogeneals. Some had the number only, others the very character of the beast.

The heap or congest which we suppose as an em-

blem of the visible Romish church (taking that church in that amplitude which they challenge, before Luther by God's appointment, attempted reformation) shall be an heap or congest of several metals, all or most part unpurified. In this one heap or congest, a great part of heterogeneals, though not all, shall be supposed to have had the union of continuation or concretion; that is, some pieces of unpurified gold, by the negligence or unskilfulness of the artificer, were made up, or suffered to make up themselves, in some clod or cake, with an huge quantity of copper, lead, brass, iron, or other baser metals, all unpurified from their dross, the other part of the same heap or congest consisting of several or lesser pieces of richer metal, all homogeneal in themselves, though many unpurified, and wanting the union of contiguity or concretion.

4. The parts of a good mineralist or refiner in this case, were, first, to dissolve the cake or clod, and to sever the richer metal from the baser; secondly, to 872
purify homogeneals so severed from their own dross; thirdly, to make them up so severed or purified into plate, wedges, or bullion, or to put some other accidental or artificial form upon them. All this being done, we cannot say there was a true generation of any new body or substance, or that the refiner did make gold where there was none before, (as some alchymists profess that they can turn iron or other metals, specifically distinct, into gold;) here was only a refining of metal preexistent, and an addition only of an accidental form.

To parallel the refiner's work by the reformation wrought by Luther and the Christian princes that hearkened to him: first, it cannot be denied but that the visible Romish church, or, if you will, the faction of the Romish court, did bear a great sway throughout

most realms in Christendom, before Luther's time. Besides the body of the clergy, or church representative, many potentates, some through ignorance, others for hope of gain, or advantage against their adversaries, did adhere unto it. This faction or combination doth in proportion answer to the clod or concrescence of heterogeneals in the emblematical congest before mentioned; for there was no true union betwixt them in matters of faith. On the other side, again, it cannot be denied but that many in every kingdom before Luther did utterly detest the tyranny of the court of Rome; many, as well of their clergy as of their laity, did in heart and affection wish a reformation, as well of the ecclesiastical government, as of the doctrine professed and practised in their church. The states, princes, or private men thus affected, answer in proportion to the several pieces of homogeneal and richer metal in the former heap or congest. All that Luther, all that the Christian princes which followed him, did intend or undertake, was, first, to dissolve the clod, or break the faction of the Romish church or court spread through their kingdoms; secondly, to refine and purify themselves and their adherents from the dross and soil which they had taken by their adherence unto or vicinity with the Romish church; lastly, to unite themselves, thus refined and purified in matters of faith and doctrine, into a new form of government ecclesiastic, independent on the tribunal or court of Rome.

5. So then it is false which our adversaries object, that Luther did take upon him to make a new church; for this supposeth a plantation of new faith or doctrine never planted before, in which the life and soul of the true church consists: whereas they say we had no church before his time, it is true only *secundum quid.* Their meaning can be no other but this: we had no visible

church altogether severed and distinct from theirs: and this again is true only in respect of those times wherein the kings of England or emperors of Germany did submit themselves and their subjects unto the jurisdiction of the court of Rome. Albeit this submission (being wrought for the most part through violence or devilish policy) doth not argue our foreelders to have been parts or members of the church of Rome, from which they were severed in heart and affection, and severed in form of government, *de jure*, though not *de facto*. In the times of divers kings the church of England was severed *de jure et de facto* from the visible Romish church: so likewise were divers churches in Germany: but for chronology, or matter of history, I must refer them to another place. The question is muchwhat the same as if they should 873
ask us where was king Henry the Seventh's kingdom, where were his subjects, where was your commonweal, whilst Richard the Third did call parliaments and sway the sceptre of this kingdom? The kingdom of Henry the Seventh and of his successors, or the English commonweal, was in the same place then as now it is. The deposition of the tyrant, the dissolution of the tyranny, and the reducing of English subjects to their true allegiance, did work no essential alteration in the commonweal or kingdom, but only a reformation of the government, and reducement of it to the fundamental laws of this land. No more did the rejection of the Romish church's usurped authority in matters spiritual induce any substantial alteration in the English church, but a reformation or reduction of it unto the fundamental constitutions of the primitive church. But to return to our former illustration: this argument, 'You had no visible church before Luther's time, *ergo*, you had no true church,' is no better

than this: 'There was no plate or bullion in the forementioned heap or congest before the refiner did his part; *ergo*, there was no true gold or silver;' for as every part of gold is gold, and every part of silver is silver, but every part of a wedge or plate is not a wedge or plate; so every member of the true church of God is himself a true church and temple of God; yet is not every part or member of the true visible or catholic church a true visible or catholic church: or, as eight or ten pieces of gold into which an angel may be broken, though they remain for weight, for value, and for substance the same they were, yet can they not be said to be the same angel, because they want the unity of that artificial form into which they were made: so likewise, although there were ten thousand in this kingdom before Luther's time, all true members of God's holy and catholic church, yet could they not be properly said one visible church, so long as they wanted that unity of discipline or independent government which we have for the most part since enjoyed.

6. Now as any kind of metal made up into a wedge or other artificial form is less subject to putrefaction, soil, or canker, than it was whilst it lay scattered in several fragments or pieces; so the union of Christian professors into one visible church is a good means for preserving every particular member, specially novices in faith, from such errors, heresies, or other temptations, as, if they had been left alone, or scattered, would endanger their faith. And yet again, as the perfection or purity of gold above other metals is best proved in that it doth not so easily take soil or rust, though it lie scattered in little pieces amongst other baser metals, or other bodies apt to taint or putrefy; so the true members of Christ's church or body are best discerned, best

approved, by living upright in points of faith, in the midst of a perverse or crooked generation, or by continuing undefiled in the bosom of a polluted visible church, out of which they may not, they cannot, at their pleasure depart, but are to expect the call or summons of God's special providence.

7. So then whether we had for these six hundred years a visible church distinct from the visible Romish church or no, is not pertinent to the main point in question; for they falsely assume, we justly deny, that men are saved by being actual or professed members of the visible church, or that our union with the present visible church is a native degree or part of our union with the holy catholic church, whereof Noah's ark was the type. We say the former union is avail- 874
able to the latter only *ex accidente*, inasmuch as the present visible church doth by doctrine and discipline draw us to a conformity in points of faith and other means necessary unto salvation, with the ancient catholic and primitive church. This did not the visible Romish church for divers hundred years before Luther's time; but on the contrary, she did discompose or misfashion them from all true conformity with the ancient catholic church. Howbeit, even in the midnight of superstition and palpable darkness which had overspread the visible Romish church, there were within it, though not of it, many visible members of the holy catholic church; men by so much more true and lively members of the holy catholic church or body of Christ, by how much they were less true and actual members of the visible Romish church; that is, by how much their adherence unto the Romish church representative, or to the authority of the court of Rome, was less firm, or none: as in a general plague, when every city and town throughout the whole king-

dom is infected, they are most safe which have solitary dwellings in the country, and have least commerce with port towns or markets. Such adherence to the visible or representative church of Rome as the Jesuits and others now challenge, doth (as we have often said) induce a separation from the holy catholic church, and is more deadly to the soul than to be bedfellow to one sick of the pestilence is to the body.

CHAP. XVII.

That men may be visible members of the holy catholic and apostolic church, and yet no actual members of any present visible church.

1. THE two principal points whereon we pitch may be comprised in these two propositions: the first, 'A man may be a true live member of the holy catholic church, albeit he hath no union or commerce with any member of the churches visible.' And this proposition is clear from that point formerly discussed, how far it was true of the visible church, *extra ecclesiam non est salus,* "out of the church there is no salvation."

The second, 'A man may be a true and visible member of the holy catholic church, and yet be no actual member of any visible church.' The truth of this latter proposition may be proved by many instances of most ages, since the church (whether under the law or gospel) became visible. For this present it shall suffice to explicate the meaning of it according to my former promise, and to confirm the truth of it so explicated by one or two pregnant instances. Albeit most of the terms in this proposition or distinction contained have been explicated before in two inquiries; the one, 'what was required to the constitution of the holy catholic church;' the other, 'what

was required to the constitution of a visible church.' To what was then said, I will add only thus much—that the church may be termed *catholic*, either in the prime sense, (or, as we then said, κατ' ἐξοχὴν,) or in a secondary analogical sense.

The catholic church in the prime sense consists only of such men as are actual and indissoluble members of Christ's mystical body, or of such as have the catholic faith not only sown in their brains or understanding, 875
but throughly rooted in their hearts.

In a secondary analogical sense, every present visible church which holdeth the holy catholic faith, without which no man can be saved, pure, and undefiled with the traditions or inventions of men, may be termed *an holy catholic church.* When we say a man may be a visible member of the holy catholic church, and yet no actual member of any present visible church, we take the catholic church in the latter or secondary sense; that is, for a church wherein no point of faith or doctrine is maintained or allowed, which is not consonant and homogeneal to the catholic and primitive faith delivered by Christ and his apostles. Who are indissoluble members of Christ's body, is only visible or known to him: many thousands are and have been true members of it, which are and have been altogether invisible to us: but who they be which profess the unity of that faith which the apostles taught, and without which no man can be saved, is visible and known to all such as either hear them profess it *viva voce*, or can read and understand their profession of it given in writing.

2. The truth of the second proposition may easily be manifested hence, inasmuch as the union between the members of any church, as visible, consists in the unity of discipline or jurisdiction, or of laws judicial or

ceremonial; whereas the union of the church, as holy and catholic, formally consists in the unity of faith or doctrine, or of laws and mysteries internally spiritual and moral. It is clear that the former union may be dissolved without the dissolution of the latter, as the latter likewise in some cases may be dissolved without dissolution of the former: as for example, a man may be cut off by excommunication or exile from all commerce with the present visible church wherein he was bred and born, and yet not thereby cut off from the holy catholic orthodoxal church. Again, a man by heresy or impious opinions (whether voluntarily and secretly embraced by him, or thrust upon him by the visible church which hath authority of jurisdiction over him) may separate himself from the holy catholic church, and yet still remain an actual member, a dear son of the visible church, in whose bosom he is willing to live.

Every visible church whose laws are ratified by sovereign authority, and whose governors are armed with power coactive, may cut off any particular member, besides the head, from which all power coactive is derived. Suppose one or two, or more, be actually cut off by excommunication, exile, or the like censure, not only from public communion in the church, but from all civil commerce with his neighbours, yet if I know that he was so cut off either upon misinformation or mistake of his judges, as if he had held some grievous heresies, which, as appears to me, he did not; or that the church governors out of ignorance, spleen, or faction, or other sinister respects which I may not in particular examine, did condemn these opinions held by him for heretical or schismatical, which are in themselves, and to my knowledge, orthodoxal and truly catholic; he is to me, and to others which know

his meaning, a visible member of the holy catholic church, though no more a member of the visible church wherein he did, and we yet remain: and albeit I have no power to rescind the visible church's decree, or authoritatively to pronounce him a catholic whom they to whom the cognizance of such causes belongs 876 have condemned for an heretic; and albeit I may not admit him to public prayers, or to communion at the sacraments, as being interdicted by authority; yet I may and ought still to retain that communion with him which in this Creed we believe to be betwixt all true members of Christ's body, or professors of the holy catholic faith, that is, 'the communion of saints:' such a communion as is betwixt the members of the church triumphant, and the living members of Christ's body militant; or rather, such as is between the orthodoxal professors of the English or other reformed churches. I am bound to pray for him, and he for me, that we may continue steadfast in the faith which we have received from the holy catholic church of former times, from which the governors of the present visible church have swerved in this particular. Of this case, thus propounded *in thesi*, Athanasius's case was the hypothesis. The then church representative or visible, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, had condemned him in one or two general councils for an heretic, and being so condemned he was utterly excluded, and perpetually cut off from all communion in things sacred with the visible church or its members, so long as he maintained that doctrine which it condemned: which doctrine it is certain he neither did nor would recant, whatsoever the then visible church did or might determine to the contrary.

3. If either the name *catholic*, or the thing signified by it, be to be valued for the time present by the multitude of suffragants, or number of suffrages given *ex*

cathedra, Athanasius and his followers were no more catholics than Wiclif and Huss with their followers in their times were; for one bishop that did maintain or favour Athanasius's doctrine, there were more than forty did oppugn it; and yet he boldly pronounceth that the faith professed by him was the only true catholic faith, without which no man could be saved, which whosoever did not keep holy and undefiled was to perish everlastingly. Suppose not ten in all the Christian world besides had resolutely embraced the same faith which Athanasius did so much magnify; or suppose all (were they more or few) which did embrace or profess it had been with him condemned for heretics, and utterly cut off from all communion with the visible church, all either banished into several islands, or shut up into several prisons; all this notwithstanding, they had still remained the only true visible members of the holy catholic church which these times afforded. And for this reason were they to be accounted the only true visible members of the holy catholic church, because they only were contented rather to be cut off from the present visible church, than to communicate with it in such doctrines or opinions as either contradict or defile the catholic primitive faith.

4. That which some Romanists in this point reply, to wit, that Julius, then bishop of Rome, did not consent to Athanasius's condemnation, but entertained him in his exile, may, for aught I know, or at this present have to say against it, be as true in part as it is impertinent. Sure I am, that the bishop of Rome did not so resolutely and manfully oppose the Arian faction, or the then erring visible church, as Athanasius did. That confession of the catholic faith which the church of Rome herself retaineth in her liturgy, as

a trophy of the victory which the catholic faith in the issue obtained over the potent Arian heresy, was neither conceived, published, nor commended to the 877
Christian world by the bishop of Rome, but by the exiled Athanasius. This worthy bishop saw almost all the prelates in the world besides, for the present, to be set against him. How these or their successors, or such as lived after him, would be affected, he knew not, in respect of the truth of his doctrine he cared not, as being confident that his doctrine was truly catholic and authentic, without the ratification or proposal of the then bishop of Rome or his successors, or of any visible church succeeding: he knew Christ's apostles and their immediate successors had embraced it: for such as lived with him, or were to come after him, at their perils be it if they embrace it not. Though not ten of that age, or any age after him, were to be saved; yet of these few, not one, as he protests, could otherwise be saved, than by believing as he did, and as former saints of God had done.

If the then bishop of Rome did receive Athanasius in the name of an orthodox or catholic, and bid God speed unto his labours, all that can hence be inferred is this, that Athanasius was to the bishop of Rome a visible member of the holy catholic church, and the bishop of Rome a visible member of the same church to Athanasius; but neither of them, nor both of them, the then visible church, nor any members of it.

As many as after this time became true members of the holy catholic church, became not such by holding union with the then visible church, but by adherence to that catholic faith which Athanasius and other visible members of the holy catholic church then taught. The holy catholic militant church hath continued one and the same since its foundation, not by continuation

of one and the same visible church, but by continuation of one and the same catholic and apostolic faith throughout all ages, which faith hath been sometimes maintained, but often oppugned by churches visible or representative.

5. It is one thing to say, the holy catholic church hath been in all ages visible, another thing to say, the visible church hath been in all ages catholic: we may and ought to grant, that in every age since the apostles' time there have been many not only true but visible members of the one holy catholic church, that is, such as were able out of scriptures to make demonstration unto the observant that their doctrine was orthodoxal and consonant to the orthodoxal faith and doctrine of the primitive church, howsoever contradicted and eclipsed by the present visible churches wherein they lived, till Luther and Christian princes by God's appointment united the visible members of the holy catholic church into visible churches. A pregnant instance of the former distinction we have gathered to our hands in that famous dialogue between Constantius the emperor and Liberius, then bishop of Rome [a]. The emperor having (as the Romanists since have done) mispictured the regiment of Christ's body

[a] Hic tum Epictetus episcopus: non fidei (inquit) causa, imperator, hodie, neque judiciorum ecclesiasticorum, faciendorum studio adductus Liberius hunc instituit sermonem, sed quo possit apud senatores Romanos gloriari, se rationibus imperatorem superasse. *Constan.* Tantane orbis terræ pars, Liberi, in te residet, ut tu solus homini impio subsidio venire et pacem orbis ac mundi totius derimere audeas? *Liberius.* Esto quod ego solus sim: non tamen propterea causa fidei fit inferior. Nam olim tres solum erant reperti, qui regis mandato resisterent tunc Eusebius eunuchus: Tu (inquit) imperatorem facis alterum Nebuchodonosor? *Liberius:* Minime sane: sed non minus temere tu hominem condemnas, de quo nullum factum sit judicium, quam ille olim.—(Tom. primo) iii. 172. Concil. (pag. 478.)

or church, by the regiment of commonweals, wherein laws are made by the whole consent or by the consent of the greater part of the body politic, presseth Liberius with this argument: "Doth so great a part of the world reside in thee, Liberius, that thou alone darest undertake the defence of this impious man, (Athanasius,) to the disturbance of the peace of the empire and of the world?" Hereto Liberius answers: "Be it so as you say, that I alone defend Athanasius, yet the 878
cause of faith shall hereby suffer no detriment; for the times heretofore have been, wherein three only were found that durst resist the king's command." To this reply Eusebius the eunuch rejoins, "Do you, Liberius, make the emperor another Nebucodonozer?" "I do not so; but thou, Eusebius, dealest no less unjustly than Nebucodonozer did, in thus condemning a man who hath not had a judicial trial."

6. So long as Liberius stood to this confession, he was a visible member of the catholic church; but when he sought to purchase the emperor's favour by subscription to Athanasius's condemnation, and communion with the Arians; although he might by this dealing regain his former dignities, and become a principal member of the then visible church; yet did he hereby cease to be a visible member of the holy catholic church[b]. For albeit Bellarmine would in part excuse

[b] Liberius, Romanus pontifex, Athanasio, Hilario et Hier. testantibus, per vim et minas sollicitatus, huic primæ fidei formulæ subscripsit, Athanasium condemnavit, et cum Arianis communicavit: idque per literas ad Valentem aliosve scriptas significans, ab exilio liberari sedique suæ restitui petiit. Itaque contra fidei confessionem ac justitiæ legem peccans, adeoque turpissimam sibi morum et vitæ maculam inurens Arianorum communione pollutus, quanquam infidelis et hæreticus non esset, a communione catholicorum, et sede pontificia excidit.—Binnius in notis ad Sermiens. Concil. habit. anno 357. tom. i. p. 593. e. And again, Liberius Arianorum communione pollutus, ab unitate ecclesiæ catholicæ merito exciderit.—Ibid.

him, as if that which he did, did not *continere in se manifestam hæresin*, "contain any manifest heresy;" yet Baronius and others, and amongst the rest Binnius, confess, that for yielding to the emperor, the catholic did eschew communion with him. Now these catholics that did eschew communion with pope Liberius for communicating with the Arian faction were neither the catholic church nor the visible church, but at the best visible members of the holy catholic church: and the church, as catholic, includes as well universality of succession and of time, as extension of place, or multitude of persons professing the catholic faith.

After this defection of the Romish church in the bishop Liberius, the whole Roman empire was overspread with Arianism. If there were any visible church of note which in those days remained catholic, it was in the east, without the precinct of the Roman empire, or in this our island. The chief pillar or ground of truth which the Roman empire in those times had, was Gregory of Nazianzen, as may appear out of that ancient author that writes his life. Though Constantinople had been held the chief watch-tower of the œcumenical church visible; yet when Nazianzen was sent for thither to support the catholic cause against the Arians, so much of the catholic church as was extant in that great city was contracted within the narrow walls of the temple of Anastasia [c], for that

[c] Exceptus autem a quibusdam, et generis, et pietatis cognatione cum eo conjunctis, ecclesiam offendit, quasi malum in monte, aut quasi signum in colle ut prophetæ verbis utar, hoc est, numero per exiguam atque obscuram (quod videlicet piis viris libertas omnis ab eo, qui imperium tenebat erepta esset) sacras etiam omnes domos spoliatas, ac per vim occupatas unum sanctæ Anastasiæ templum orthodoxis patebat, fortasse etiam quia propter ambitus et circumscriptionis angustiam, contemptui habebatur: quemadmodum norunt, qui vetus hoc templum perspexerunt.—Vita Nazianzeni a Greg. presbyt. conscripta.

church only was permitted them to meet in, (as is thought,) in contempt, that the littleness of it might upbraid them with their paucity, it being a fit receptacle rather for a private conventicle, than for a just and lawful congregation. Nazianzen then was the Luther of ancient times, to reform the visible church, being overspread with Arianism. Luther was the Nazianzen of later times, to dispel the mists of popery and Romish idolatry by the light of the gospel, and to reduce the visible church unto conformity with the ancient church.

7. As many as in our Saviour's time here on earth, at the instigation of the high priest, of the scribes, and Pharisees, (or of the then visible church representative,) 879 or otherwise out of their private choice, did persecute him and his apostles, as deceivers or authors of new sects or heresies, did thereby dissociate themselves from the ancient and primitive church of God, established in Jewry, and yet remained true and obedient members of the then visible or representative church. On the contrary, such as before our Saviour's death or passion did acknowledge him for their Messias, although for so doing they were excommunicated and cast out of their synagogues, that is, utterly cut off from being any longer members of the then visible church, did by this their known sufferings or martyrdom become illustrious and visible members of the true primitive and catholic church, whereof Abraham, David, Samuel, with all the rest of the holy patriarchs and prophets, were principal parts. *The Jews had agreed already*, (saith St. John ix. 22,) *that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue.* For fear of this heavy censure, the parents of that blind man which our Saviour had restored to sight put off the Pharisees with this dilatory

answer: *We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind: but by what means he now seeth, we know not; or who hath opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age; ask him: he shall speak for himself*[d]. The son being asked, boldly replies, *If this man were not of God, he could do nothing.* And for this answer he is cast out of the synagogue or visible church, and yet remains a more conspicuous and visible member of that holy church which Moses had planted in Israel, than his parents were, which continued as they had been, actual or unseparated members of the present synagogue or visible church.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what sense it may be granted that the visible Romish church at the time of our forefathers' separation from it was a true church, and yet withal the synagogue of Satan, the seat of Antichrist, and common sink of heresies.

1. But here it will be demanded, whether these visible members of the holy catholic church, which were as living stones or fit materials for erecting reformed visible churches, (as having not their consciences indelibly branded with the character of the beast,) were, before Luther began his reformation, αὐτογονεῖς, or no, that is, whether they were the immediate sons of God, begotten only by his Spirit, without the ministry or travail of any visible church? To affirm they were such sons of God, we may not; and if we say they were the sons and daughters of God, and yet withal the sons and daughters of the visible church which was before Luther's time, that visible church (which by our positions can be no other than the church of Rome) was certainly a true church, in that it brought

[d] John ix. 20, 21.

forth sons and daughters unto God. All this may be granted; that the Romish church before Luther's time, was, and at this day is, a true church, *quoad hoc*, that it did and may bring forth sons and daughters unto God; that is, there are these means of regeneration in it, which are not in the Mahometan or Jewish synagogue; in opposition to both which it may be said a true church; though in respect of the primitive catholic church, or of reformed visible churches, it may truly be termed *the synagogue of Satan*, or *seat of Antichrist*, in many respects as much worse as it is in some respects better than the Jewish or Mahometan synagogue. The thesis was as discreetly proposed as learnedly prosecuted by Dr. Reinolds, *Romana ecclesia nec est catholica ecclesia, nec sanum membrum catholicæ* 880
ecclesiæ; "the Roman church neither is the catholic church, nor any sound member of the catholic church:" in saying this, he did not deny it in some respects to be a true church; which is in express terms affirmed by Junius, in his book intituled, *Liber singularis de ecclesia;* by doctor Covell, in his apology for Master Hooker; and by Master Forbes, upon the fourteenth of the Revelation, whose testimony is so much the more to be esteemed, because he expressly maintains the papacy, or representative Romish church, to be the kingdom of the great Antichrist. So that in the judgment of these three, which have handled this point very discreetly, as also in the judgment of learned doctor Reinolds, the visible church of Rome might fitly be compared unto a mother, which brings forth sound and healthy children, but when they come to suck her milk, she infects them with such loathsome diseases as accompany lewd and naughty strumpets; or if they chance to escape infection by the milk which they suck from her in their infancy, yet when she

comes to feed them with stronger meats, if they be content to be fed by her, and seek not their food from the ancient, primitive, and catholic church, like an abominable nasty slut, she poisons all the food which is of her own dressing. Some there may be in this church (or as yet under her government) which are more cleanly cooks, and do not so pollute the food of life, but that such as are continually fed by them, as by ordinary pastors, may escape the danger of their mother's infection, and die members of the holy catholic church, though not actually separated from the present visible Romish church, nor externally united to any visible reformed church.

2. All this I take to be a true branch of the forecited author's meaning: but in what sense the visible church of Rome before Luther's time might be said a true church, and yet withal the synagogue of Satan, or in what manner their cardinals, bishops, and priests may be said to exercise the ministry and service of Christ, and yet they themselves be bondslaves of Satan, priests of Baal, and native members of Antichrist, may in my judgment be most punctually expressed by that excellent distinction of the civil law, *Aliud est magistratum esse, aliud est in magistratu esse,* "It is one thing to be a true magistrate, another thing to be in the magistracy, or to execute a magistrate's office." From this distinction was gathered this general ruled case or sentence—that the acts of him that was a false and unlawful magistrate might be lawful and just.

This resolution or ruled case did grow upon this occasion: one Barbarius[e] was by a common error chosen prætor, and continued in the place whereof he was

[e] Vide Hottoman. illust. quæst. quæst. 17. Operum, tom. i. fol. 892. An quæ a falso magistratu per magistratus nomen gesta sunt, rata esse debeant.

altogether uncapable, as being a bondman. Some there were which did not only consent to remove him after the truth was known—as he was indeed by law removed, because he was never lawful prætor—but withal did question, whether the acts that he had done whilst he unjustly usurped that office were of any validity, or rather void in law. It was determined, according to the tenor of the former distinction, that though he was *falsus prætor*, "a false prætor," yet he was in *vera prætura*, "in a true prætorship," and the acts which he did, did receive their validity from the prætorship, not from the prætor.

One part of the prætor's office was to set men free which were bondslaves; and in this respect it was requisite that none should be prætor but he which was a freeman, and that no bondslaves, though chosen prætor by a common error, should ever prescribe by long continuance in the place, but was instantly to be amoved, so soon as the truth was known and declared. 881 So that in respect of his person, or of right unto his place, that maxim of law was still in force, *Quod non valuit ab initio, non potest tempore valescere;* "That "which was of no value from its first beginning, cannot acquire any validity by continuance of time:" yet in respect of the persons which were made free denizens by him, that other maxim (much ofttimes mistaken or misapplied by some modern lawyers) was true, *Communis error, facit jus*, "A common error makes a law." Inasmuch as he was chosen prætor by a common and full consent of lawful suffragants, though so chosen by a common error; yet the acts done by him, till the error was known and declared, were just and lawful: such as had been set at liberty by him were as true freemen as those that had been set free by true and lawful prætors; for their manumissions

or enfranchisements took validity, not from the condition or person of the officer, but from the virtue of his office, into which he was an intruder.

In like manner, though Richard the Third were a tyrant, no true king, yet the laws made by him were true and good laws, and the earls or barons created by him were true earls and true barons; for though he were not *legitimus rex*, "a lawful king," yet he was *in legitimo regno constitutus*, "he did manage a lawful kingdom." Nor were they traitors that did yield obedience to the laws made by him, or submit themselves unto the magistrates of his appointment; save only in cases wherein the laws made by him might prejudice the fundamental laws of this kingdom, or cut off the right of succession to the crown: but in case the magistrates, earls, or barons created by him should have commanded their inferiors to take arms against the known and lawful heir to the crown, to have yielded obedience unto them in this case had been treason, as Richard himself during all the time of his reign was no better than a traitor.

3. Either from the analogy of the former ruled case in matters civil, or from the general or fundamental rule of equity, whereof that was a branch, did the church ordain that baptism administered by heretics should not be reiterated: for though no heretic be a true member of the church, and therefore no true priest; yet so long as he is *in sacerdotio*, in the priest's place, the acts of his ministry or priesthood be good. Now though the pope or bishop of Rome be more than an heretic, even the Antichrist or man of sin, the supreme head, though not of all Christ's enemies, (for Jews and Turks are such,) yet of all rebels or usurpers of his throne on earth; nevertheless, seeing (as the apostle saith) he sits *in the temple of*

God[f], even the acts of his ministration or priesthood are good; nor are the bishops consecrated by him so polluted by communion with him in their consecration, but that their episcopal acts—as, the ordination of ministers, the administration of sacraments, and the like—be lawful and good, so long as they observe the form of ordination, or administration of sacraments prescribed by Christ and his apostles. The word preached by them likewise hath the force and efficacy of begetting faith in their hearers' hearts: and so long as they teach nothing but what Christ hath taught, the people or laity owe the like obedience unto them, that the people of the Jews in our Saviour's time owed to the scribes and Pharisees. For though perhaps they have in many points degenerated much further from St. Peter's doctrine and manner of life than the scribes and Pharisees had done from Moses, yet so long as they sit in Peter's or other catholic bishops' chairs, that precept of our Saviour, *Illos audite, Hear ye them*, binds them as much as it did the Jews. How 882
far it bound the Jews, I leave it to the expositors of the xxiiird of St. Matthew[g], and amongst the rest to Maldonate.

4. It is certain the people were not by virtue of this precept bound to do all that their high priest with his confederates would *ex cathedra* command them to do, though intended by them, *in ordine ad Deum et salutem ecclesiæ*, with reference to God and to the welfare of his church: for Caiaphas had delivered this sentence *ex cathedra*, *It is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not*, John xi. 50; and upon his authority or warrant they adventured to put the Lord of glory to death. Had not this false apostatical priest been *in vero*

[f] 2 Thess. ii. 4. [g] Matt. xxiii. 3.

sacerdotio, a chief officer in the house of God, neither could so clear a truth as he uttered have been inverted to such a pernicious end as it was spoken by him, and apprehended by others; nor could he have conceived or uttered so clear a truth of himself, as St. John instructs us he did: *This spake he not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation.* John xi. 51. Other acts of his priesthood took their validity from his office, not from his person: this speculative truth took its poisonous operation from his person, not from his office; although he could not have borne so bitter enmity unto Christ, unless he had been in that office.

Now albeit we grant that Caiaphas did prophesy by virtue of his place, or priestly office, yet no Romanists (as I hope) will deny that Caiaphas, in the preposterous application of his prophetical sentence, might well brook the name of Antichrist; at the least, that he was a type or shadow of the Antichrist to come; who was to sit, as Caiaphas did, in the temple of God, or, if so they will have it, in St. Peter's chair, that he may wrest divine truths authoritatively to as wicked ends as Caiaphas did.

5. But may it not hence be inferred, that as the Sanhedrin was the only visible church which God had here on earth, so the Romish church, from which Luther did separate himself, was the only true visible church of Christ at the time of his separation? This may be granted *de facto*, but not *de jure:* for there was an express law of God that there should be no more visible churches than one before our Saviour's death and resurrection; after which, there were to be as many visible churches *de jure*, as there were several independent sovereignties. I have heard indeed of some French catholics (as they would be accounted)

which use this as an argument, whether intended by them, *ad homines*, to delude the objector only, or *ad rem*, to the matter itself, I know not: but this argument they use to prove that their church (as opposed to reformed churches) is the true church, because the pope is Antichrist, and Antichrist (as the apostle teacheth) is to sit in the temple of God, and the temple of God, no question, is the true church; whence, seeing he sits in their church, they infer that theirs is the true church, not ours. But as in most other arguments concerning the church, so in this, they cozen themselves with the fallacy, *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*. First, both letter of scripture and analogy of faith do teach that Antichrist is to sit as Caiaphas did, in a true church, yea to be a chief officer of some church; otherwise he could not be a principal rebel or notorious traitor against Christ. But in that he was to be such a rebel and such a traitor, it is not conceivable that the church which wholly submits herself to him, as to her head, should be the true church, much less the only church of Christ. The former argument will hold thus far: 'The pope is Antichrist; *ergo*, the church of Rome is a true church *secundum quid*, that is, in opposition to the synagogue of Jews, of Turks, or other professed infidels:' but if we speak absolutely, or 883
compare it with churches truly Christian, it is no true church of Christ, but the synagogue of Satan: or, as he said of his sordid host's entertainment, that there was so much fire as a man could not have truly said in strict propriety of logic phrase there was no fire; that is, there was so much, as if he had been bound by covenant of lease never to have suffered the fire to go out, he might have saved his lease from forfeiture; and yet there was no fire but a mock fire to

the entertaining of a stranger; so much as was a greater eyesore to him that had sought comfort or refreshing from it, than if there had been none at all. In like manner there is so much of the true church in the present Romish visible church, as a man cannot say it is no church at all; so much true doctrine in it as sufficeth to support the title of Antichrist, and to make it the very seat of all abominations, or impieties more than natural: for as the mingling of the traditions of men with Moses' doctrine did make the leaven of Pharisees to be so malignant and distasteful to God and all good men; so is it the mixture or making up of the doctrine of Christ and of devils in one and the same liturgy, which makes antichristianism in grain. And as elsewhere is observed[h], the idolatry of the Romish church is so much worse than the idolatry of the heathens, by how much that church's general belief of one God, of the glorious Trinity, and of the redemption of mankind, is better than the heathens' belief or knowledge of the same points.

6. But when it is said that Antichrist is to sit in the temple of God, it is not meant only that he should sit in the present visible church, but that he should be an usurper of that chair which sometimes had been the seat of God's saints, and be an intruder into that church which had been holy and catholic before his intrusion, and which still retains the roots and stems of catholic faith, into which it shall be his and his followers' continual care to ingraff the doctrine of devils, and to exercise their spiritual whoredoms in the oratories of God.

[h] In the third book upon the Creed, sect. iii. and iv. in divers chapters. [vol. ii.]

CHAP. XIX.

Whether our forefathers, in separating themselves, or suffering themselves to be separated from the Romish church, did any otherwise than God's prophets or our Saviour's disciples, had their case and opportunity been the same, would have done.

1. But here again the author of the Antidote, or the blind Guide of Faith, will object, "that neither the prophets of old, nor our Saviour's disciples before his death, did separate themselves from the present visible church." If not to believe as the church visible and representative for the time present did; if not to communicate with her in matters of faith or practice, were to be separated from the present visible church, (as this author's words elsewhere[1] imply,) the prophets, out of all question, did either separate themselves, or suffer themselves to be separated from the visible church wherein they lived. Ezekiel and Daniel would never have consented to the priests and rulers in their persecutions of Jeremy as a false prophet or traitor. Our Saviour's disciples before his death stood excommunicated by the visible church of the Jews; they were as far from communicating with the chief priests and elders in matters of faith and practice, as we are from communicating with the Romish church or members of the Trent council. But if this man's meaning be, that neither the prophets, nor our Saviour's dis- 884
ciples before his death, did take upon them to erect a new visible church altogether distinct from the erring synagogue, the objection is true, but no way prejudicial to us: for they lived in that church or commonweal as our forefathers before Luther's time,

[1] Cap. ix. par. 5. of this book, his words are set down.

which feared God, did in the Romish church or commonweal, which had not by public consent abandoned the Romish religion; that is, neither as absolute members of the synagogue, nor yet a visible church distinct from it, but as visible members of that primitive church from which the synagogue had degenerated.

As for the prophets and other godly men which lived before our Saviour's death, they wanted rather power than willing minds to reform the corruptions of the visible church in which they lived. And the true reason why that church continued so corrupt from Josias's death until the destruction of the temple, and grew so wicked again in the age before our Saviour's time, was, because during these times there were either naughty kings or no kings at all in Israel. Had Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, or any like unto them of David's line, been kings of Judah in Herod's stead, there is no question but they would have brought the scribes and Pharisees to better order, or have deposed them; either have reduced the then visible church to its primitive purity, or have erected a new visible church, according to the pattern prescribed by Moses. That the priests and prophets did so overbear the true prophets of God, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, &c., to the ruin of the city and kingdom, was the fault of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. As at this day again it is the fault and folly of Christian kings, that the church of Rome is not either reduced to better conformity with the holy catholic and apostolic church, or else demolished, as the Jewish synagogue was.

But what should move this man, I mean the author of the blind Guide of Faith, to make the former objection against us, I cannot conceive; unless it were to give us and the Christian world to understand, that the visible Romish church, his mother, could be

very well content to continue, till Christ's second coming, as erroneous and antichristian as the Jewish synagogue was before his first coming in the flesh, upon condition she may retain her wonted power and authority to tyrannize over us and other saints of God, as the visible Jewish church or synagogue did ofttimes over the true prophets and Christ's disciples.

2. For conclusion of this point: inasmuch as Christian princes and free states did second Luther in his intended reformation of so much of the visible Romish church as was seated in their sovereignties or dominions; this warrants our separation to have been just and lawful, and free from all suspicion of rebellion or schism; whereunto the like attempts in Jewry, though undertaken by God's prophets, had been obnoxious, unless the princes or chief magistrates had given them countenance and authority. Howbeit neither prince nor people, jointly or severally, either now have, or at any time had power to make a new church, altogether distinct from the catholic church militant on earth, which hath been one by continuation of the same faith since the apostles' time. But in case any part of the church militant or visible be infected with heresy, or overswayed by faction, to approve such impious and ungodly practices as are incompatible with the holy catholic faith, which hath been professed in pure and uncorrupt times, every free prince or state hath in this case power and authority sufficient to dislink themselves from the factious combination of the visible church or churches seated in foreign states or 885
kingdoms, and to unite themselves into renewed forms of visible churches, distinct from others. Yet thus to do, so they do no more, is not to make a new church, never heard of before, but rather to recollect the scattered members of the holy catholic church, in whom

the life and substance of the true church of God consists, and to put a new accidental form upon them.

3. The case is altogether the same as if an army consisting of threescore thousand English, French, and Italians, appointed by joint consent of these nations to invade the Turk, should be misled by the Italian general to revenge his private quarrels upon the Christians. If the English, upon discovery of their general's treachery, should abandon him, and adjoin themselves unto the Hungarians, or other Christians oppressed by the Turk, they could not justly be blamed, either for defection or revolt, or for levying an army, or undertaking a war altogether new, without any warrant or commission. Well might they presume their prince would approve their proceedings, specially if their service had success answerable to the godly intentions of their first commission.

4. As many of our forefathers as did submit themselves unto the jurisdiction of the church of Rome, and undertook such services as the pope or Roman prelacy did appoint them unto, they did thus only upon presumption that the pope did faithfully execute his commission as the apostles' successor, or that he did command in chief for Christ. But when the contrary was notoriously known unto this people, that he did but counterfeit the visage of the lamb that he might the more plausibly effect the designs of the dragon, our prince and people, in abandoning his yoke, and breaking off their confederacy with the church of Rome, did well. And this being done, they remain the same church they were for life and substance, but the same church better purified and purged from rebellious antichristian humours; the same church, so much more homogeneal to the ancient primitive catholic church, by how much they remained the freer

from servitude to Romish tyranny, whose usurped authority over other churches is but antichristianism, or apostasy from Christ.

CHAP. XX.

Whether the name catholic *can in good earnest be pleaded or pretended for an unseparable mark of the true visible church.*

1. But in all these illustrations it will be excepted that we take something for granted which the Romish church will utterly disclaim. This for one: that our forefathers at the time of their departure from the Romish church were true catholics, or, in the interim between the abandoning of the prelacy of Rome, and the establishing a prelacy or form of government of their own, more refined, were visible members of the holy catholic church: for so destitute is the Roman church of all true and solid properties of the true church of God, that she is fain to plead the name and title of *catholic* to be her proper note or ensign, which no other church may more presume to challenge, than a servingman may presume to wear his master's coat or cognizance, after he be discharged of his service. In this waking dream, the author of the Guide of Faith was brought to rave as followeth: "Now I come 886
(saith he) to the great character of our glory, and renowned title of our profession, the name *catholic*, a name famous in the primitive church, famous in the apostles' days, and inserted by them among the articles of our Creed: famous after in all succeeding ages, and used commonly by the fathers, not so much to make a difference (which some think) betwixt the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church, as to sever and distinguish the false named Christians themselves from the true and unfeigned believers. And reason teacheth,

and D. Whitaker often confesseth, the marks and properties of the church to be unseparable from the church whose marks they are. Therefore that which once was, must still continue a mark of the church, because the true church, although it admit some accidental change, yet it is always in nature unvariable, in essence unchangeable; so that the properties which flow from the essence thereof, as the name *catholic* doth, can no more be altered, changed, or cease, than the power of laughing, a property which proceedeth from the nature of man, can ever cease to appertain to man:" c. xviii. §. 1. and 4. pp. 155, 138.

Auditum admissi risum teneatis amici?

2. If the power of laughing proceed from the nature of man, and the nature of man consist in reason, it will be very hard for any man to refrain laughing that hath but so much reason as to consider the vanity of this assertion, "that a name should be an unseparable property proceeding from the nature of any reality." God gave names to the first man and to the first woman, and the first man gave names befitting other creatures; but the names proceeded not from the nature of the creatures named, but from the imposers; otherwise their names should have been the same in all nations and languages. And if the name *catholic* were an unchangeable mark or natural property of any real church, it should be of the Greek church or nation, unto which the name or title of *catholic* is prime and natural. If the real property answering to this name had belonged to the Romish church, the Holy Ghost would have expressed it by a Roman name, and have called the Roman church *the universal church*, at least the Romanists should have called themselves *universals*, not *catholics*. But let us listen again unto this raver. "We only enjoy

the lively badge, and are invested with the livery of the true professors of Christ. Neither can Mr. Abbot or Mr. Whitaker dismantle us of that royalty by saying, names may be falsely imposed to things, or unjustly usurped: for this name is not imposed by man, nor usurped by abuse, but imparted by God, inspired by the Holy Ghost, (as I have proved above,) who cannot apparel us with any feigned attire, nor can the devil take from God's people their cognizance, or nobilitate his vassals with the colours of Christ."

3. Was the name of *catholic* more immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost than the name of *angels* or *apostles* was? or was this title more appropriated to the church than the other two titles of *holy* and *apostolic?* Now St. Paul tells us, 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15, that *Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light: and it is no marvel if his ministers transform themselves into the apostles of Christ.* Is it then impossible for the ministers of Satan to usurp the name of Christ's apostles or catholics, though both names were imposed by God, and inspired by the Holy Ghost? Certainly; seeing this transformation is not in substance, but only in colour or show, it must needs include the colour or usurpation of the name, whether of apostles or of catholics.

But he further adds "that no heretic could ever 887
obtain to be called *catholics* by true Christians." For this very reason, we protestants of reformed churches, who are, if not the only true Christians on earth, yet the truest Christians, and the most conspicuous members of the holy catholic church as militant here on earth, dare not vouchsafe to bestow the name of *catholic* upon any papist, but with such an addition or item as we give the name of *angels* to infernal fiends, which we term *Satan's angels,* or *collapsed*

angels. Now the same analogy which God's angels or a holy angel hath to Satan's angel, or to a collapsed angel, a true and holy catholic hath to a modern Roman catholic. For by this term we mean such a one as, being a servant of Satan, doth seek to transform himself into a true and holy catholic. The point which this blind guide was to prove, was this —that no heretics could usurp the name or title of *catholic.* We say it is the property of the modern Romish church to counterfeit the fairest titles, given to the church by orthodoxal antiquity, more plausibly than the ancient heretics could; and by this property we discern her to be that mother of harlots, which can imitate the lamb's voice whilst she acts the wolf's part. He further objects, that the Jews and Mahometans, when they hear a man named *a catholic,* thereby conceive some member of the present modern Roman church, not any of Luther's or Calvin's followers. So we likewise, when we hear a people brag, and instyle themselves *a holy nation,* we presently conceive the parties that thus instyle themselves to be Jews; yet do we not, for all this, believe, that the Jewish nation is the holiest of nations, or the only chosen people of God now on earth. As for both Jews and Turks, it is likely they could be well content to suffer the Romanist to enjoy the name *catholic* as a preeminence above Christians: for they might well hope to prove their own religion to be better than the best professed amongst Christians, if once it were granted that the Roman catholic religion is the best. But to give the Christian reader some real solace after his pleasant recreation at this ridiculous discourser's folly, in that he and his fellows can thus seriously plead for the name *catholic,* which they seek by faction to engross unto themselves, this is an argument to us,

that the floods already approach the sandy foundations whereon this spiritual Babylon is built, and that her downfall is at hand. For unless her professed champions and pilots were likely to be drowned, they would not so earnestly catch at such shadows or floating bulrushes as this Guide of Faith hath done. But, leaving the shadow, let us in the next place see whether have better interest in the body or substance, whether we or they do better deserve the real title of *catholics*.

CHAP. XXI. 888

That the title of catholic *is proper and essential unto the faith professed by the present visible church of England, but cannot truly be attributed to the faith or creed of the modern visible Romish church.*

1. WHETHER the name *catholic* were first bestowed upon the church, or upon that faith which is the life and soul of the holy apostolic church, shall be no part of our inquiry. It sufficeth that the name *catholic* itself is univocal in respect both of church and faith. True faith is therefore catholic faith, because it is the only door or way unto salvation, alike common unto all, without national or topical respect. Whosoever of any nation have been saved, have been saved by this one and the same faith, and "whosoever will be saved," as Athanasius speaks, "must hold this catholic faith," and he must hold it "pure and undefiled." The main question then is, who they be that hold this catholic faith, and whether they hold it undefiled or no.

Were Vincentius' rules as artificial as they are orthodoxal and honest, the issue betwixt us and the Romanist would be very easy and triable. But let us take them as they are: *Id catholicum est quod ab*

omnibus ubique et semper, &c.; "that is catholic which is held by all in all places and at all times."

The three special notes of the catholic faith or church, by him required, are universality, antiquity, and consent. Whether these three members be different or subordinate, and ofttimes coincident, I leave it to be scanned by logicians. According to the author's limitation, all three marks agree to us, not to the Romanist.

2. First, concerning universality, the question is not, whether at this present hour, or in any former age for these thousand years past, there are or have been more which profess the present Romish religion, established in the church of Rome, than the religion established in the reformed churches since the separation was made. If we should come to calculate voices after this manner, 'Whether will you be a Roman catholic or a protestant?' they might perhaps have three for one amongst such as profess themselves Christians, ready to cry, 'I am not for the protestants, but for the Roman catholics will I be.' But it was far from Vincentius' meaning, that universality should be measured after this fashion; for he very well knew that the Arian faction had prevailed, especially by this tumultuary kind of canvass or calculation. The multitude of voices thus taken for them may prove their faction to be stronger and greater than our church, it cannot prove their faith to be so universal as our faith is. The fallacy, by which the Romanists deceive poor simple people, is in making them believe that our religion and their religion, our faith and their faith, are *duo prima diversa*, or so totally distinct, that part of the one could not be included in the other. But for the universality of our faith we have every member of the Romish church a suffragant or witness for us.

First, nothing is held as a point of faith in our church, but the present Romish church doth hold the same, and confess the same to have been held by all orthodoxal antiquity. So that for the form of faith established in our church, we have the consent of the primitive church, of the four first general councils, of all succeeding ages unto this present day; the con- 889
sent likewise of the present Romish church, and of ourselves. Now as France is a great deal bigger than Normandy, if we compare them as distinct and opposite, and yet France and Normandy is bigger than France without Normandy; so likewise, though the present visible Romish church be much greater than the church of England, yet, seeing the Romish church, how great soever, doth hold all the points of faith which our church doth, for catholic and orthodoxal, our consent and their consent, our confession and their confession, is more universal than their consent without ours. But if their consent unto the points of faith believed by us prove our faith to be universal, and our church by consequence to be catholic, why should not our consent unto the points of faith believed by them prove their faith to be universal, or their church to be catholic? because it is not enough to hold all points of catholic faith, unless the same points be kept holy and undefiled. The Romish church, we grant, doth hold all points of catholic faith; and so far as she holds these points, we dissent not from her: yet dissent from her we do, in that she hath defiled and polluted the catholic faith with new and poisonous doctrines; for which she neither hath the consent of antiquity nor of reformed churches. And in respect of these doctrines she stands convicted of schism and heresy by Vincentius' rules; for it is with him a fundamental rule, that no present visible church hath any authority to commend any

thing as a point of faith to posterity which hath not been commended to the said church by antiquity, derived from the apostles' times. A proficiency or growth in faith he allows and granteth, *modo sit in eodem genere*, "so it be in the same kind, or proceed from the same root:" but for additions or new inventions, he takes them for the marks of schism and heresy.

3. So then we hold the catholic faith, and they hold the catholic faith: and seeing they hold the catholic faith in the same measure that we do, is it not reason they should be termed catholics as well as we, though not so good catholics as we? No reason they should be termed catholics at all. Where is the difference? In this: we hold it pure and undefiled, they have defiled and polluted it for many generations, and do still defile it with many loathsome additions and inventions. Now in this case the denomination followeth the worser part, that is, they are not so much to be reputed catholics for that they hold the catholic faith, as to be adjudged heretics and schismatics, because they have defiled and polluted it with many new inventions, and being admonished hereof and reproved, will not purify their faith, will not reform their religion according to the rule of faith and the practice of antiquity. Their faith, not purified from the additions of the second Nicene and Trent council, can be no catholic faith; their religion, not reformed, can be no true religion, save only in reference to Paganism, Judaism, or Mahometism. For, as Dionysius saith, *Bonum non est nisi ex integra causa, malum ex quolibet defectu;* "Nothing is good which is not entire and sound, evil ariseth from every defect." Every new addition or invention, in matters of faith or doctrine, is enough to make that church schismatical which before was catholic and orthodoxal.

Catholic and orthodoxal no church can be, unless it hold all points of faith without admixture of human inventions or of new articles. The admixture of a great deal of man's meat with a little swine's meat, makes the whole dish to be no man's meat, but swine's meat. Our church, according to Vincentius' rule, ad- 890
mits a growth or proficiency in faith, in that it holds not only those propositions which are expressly contained in scripture, but such as may by necessary consequence be deduced out of them for points of faith; and this growth is still *in eodem genere*, "from the same root." Other points of faith besides these our church admitteth none, but ties even her prelates and governors to obtrude no other doctrines as points of faith upon their auditors, than such as are either expressly contained in scriptures, or may infallibly be deduced from them. And this is the fundamental and radical difference between our church and the Romish church, which admitteth such an illimited increase or growth of faith as is in heaps or congests of heterogeneals.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the adinventions or new articles added to the Creed by the Romish church, by which she hath defiled the holy catholic and apostolic faith. Of the difference betwixt the church of Rome and the church of England concerning the rule of faith. What that ecclesiastic tradition was which Vincentius Lirinensis so much commendeth: to what use it served in the ancient councils.

1 THE pain-worthiest inquiry in this argument were, first, to make search what additions or adinventions unto the ancient or primitive canon of catholic faith have been made, received, or authorized by the Romish church since the council of Ephesus, which was some three years before Vincentius Liri-

nensis wrote his admonitions concerning this point, and in what age and upon what occasions such additions have been made or received; secondly, to make proof or demonstration how far and in what manner such additions do corrupt or contaminate the holy catholic faith, and how far each or all of them jointly or severally do undermine or overthrow the holy catholic faith.

The first addition or adinvention of moment, which comes into my memory, is the invocation of saints and veneration of images[k]. Both which points were added as articles of faith, or parts of the Creed, which all were bound to believe and profess by Tharasius, patriarch of Constantinople, and president of that illiterate parasitical and factious assembly, which hath been commonly instyled the seventh general or second Nicene council. In these and the like abominable decrees the then bishop of Rome was Tharasius's complice, his instigator and abettor, as may appear from the speeches of his legates in that council, and by his own epistles, although part of the epistle may be justly suspected to have been framed since. But by what spirit this council was managed, or in whose name they met together, I refer the reader unto that learned treatise in the book of Homilies, (whereunto we have all subscribed,) concerning the peril of idolatry, especially the third part. What ingenuous minds of this kingdom thought of that council, before either the author

[k] Confiteor Jesum Christum crucifixum pro nobis carne sepultum et resurgentem in cœlosque reversum, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos præter hæc mortuorum resurrectionem expecto, et secundum unius cujusque actionem æternam retributionem bonorum simul et malorum obsecrans intercessionem sanctissimæ intemeratæ Dominæ nostræ deiparæ et semper virginis Mariæ, sanctorumque angelorum, et sanctorum gloriosorum apostolorum, prophetarum, martyrum, confessorum et doctorum sept.—Synod. act. 1. et 3. tom. xviii. pag. 325.

of these Homilies or Luther was born, may in part be gathered from an ancient English historiographer[1], who saith, the church of God did hold this decree in execration.

2. The selfsame points, with a great many more of like or worse nature, all whatsoever any council which 891 the Romish church accounteth general or œcumenical, or any canons which the same church accounteth catholic, even all the decrees whereto the Trent council hath affixed their anathemas, have been annexed by Pius Quartus to the Nicene Creed, and are inserted as principal points of that oath which every Roman bishop at his consecration is to take; one part of which oath or solemn vow it likewise is, that every bishop shall exact the like confession of his inferiors to be ratified by oath or solemn vow: *Cætera omnia a sacris et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita, et declarata indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia atque hæreses quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas, et rejectas, et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, rejicio et anathematizo. Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram et inviolatam usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum constantissime* (*Deo adjuvante*) *retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel illis, quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, Ego idem* N. *spondeo, voveo, ac juro, sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.*—Onup. De Vita Pont. pag. 472.

The particular decree concerning invocation of saints and adoration of images is much enlarged by the Trent

[1] Hoveden, anno 792.

council and by Pius Quartus. But of the equivalency of idolatry in Rome heathen and Rome Christian elsewhere at large[m]. In this one point, to omit others, the present Romish church far exceeds the eastern church, in the time of the second Nicene council, in that it ratifies the worshipping of all such saints as are canonized by the pope.

3. The second addition made by the Roman church unto the ancient canon of faith is a transcendent one, and illimited; and that is, the making of ecclesiastical tradition to be an integral part of the canon of faith. This doth not only pollute, but undermine the whole fabric of the holy primitive and catholic faith. That there is a certain rule or authentic canon of faith, is a principle wherein the ancient primitive church, the modern Roman, and all reformed churches agree. The first point of difference betwixt us is about the extent of the written canon, specially of the Old Testament. The main points of difference are these: first, we affirm with antiquity, and in particular with Vincentius Lirinensis, that the canon of scripture is a rule of faith, perfect for quantity, and sufficient for quality; that is, it contains all things in it that are necessary to salvation, or requisite to be contained in any rule; and so contains them as they may be believed and understood, without relying on any other rule or authority equivalent to them in certainty, or more authentic in respect of us, than the scriptures are. The modern Romish church denies the canon of scripture to be perfect and complete in respect of its quantity, or sufficient for its quality or efficacy. To supply the defect of its quantity, they add tradition, as another part of the same rule, homogeneal and equiva-

[m] In the fifth book upon the Creed, or a treatise containing the original of unbelief, &c. sect. 4. [vol. iv. p. 203, &c.]

lent to it for quality. To supply the unsufficiency as well of canonical scriptures as of tradition, in respect of their quality or efficacy towards us, they add the infallible authority of the present visible church. The former addition of unwritten traditions, as part of the infallible rule, doth undermine: this latter addition of the church's infallible and absolute authority, as well in determining the extent as in declaring the true sense and meaning of the whole rule, utterly pulls 892
down the structure of faith; yet, when we reject ecclesiastical tradition from being any part of the rule of faith, we do not altogether deny the authority or use of it. Howbeit, that ecclesiastical tradition, whereof there was such excellent use in the primitive church, was not unwritten tradition, or customs commended or ratified by the supposed infallibility of any visible church. That ecclesiastical tradition which Vincentius Lirinensis so much commends, did especially consist in the confessions or registers of particular churches. Now the unanimous consent of so many several churches as exhibited their confessions to the Nicene council, being not dependent one of another, not overswayed by authority, nor misled by faction to frame the confessions of their faith by imitation, or according to some pattern set them, but voluntarily and freely exhibiting such confessions as had been framed and taught before these controversies arose, was a pregnant argument to any unpartial understanding man, that this faith, wherein they all agreed, had been delivered unto them by the apostles and their followers, by the first planters of the churches thus agreeing; a pregnant argument likewise, that these first planters had been inspired and taught by one and the same Spirit. Each particular church was a

competent or authentic witness of every other church's integrity and fidelity *in servando depositum*, in careful preserving the truth committed to their special trust. On the contrary, in that Arius, Eutyches, Nestorius, and other heretics, did obtrude such constructions of scriptures upon their auditors, as had nowhere been heard of before, but sprung up with themselves, or from the places wherein they lived; this was an argument more than probable, that if the apostles had delivered the whole form of wholesome doctrine unto posterity, (a point questioned by no church in those times,) these men, or the particular churches which abetted them, had not kept the doctrine delivered unto them by our Saviour and his apostles, but had corrupted or defiled it with the idle fancies of their own brains, or with the muddy conceit of their discontented passions.

To speak more briefly, though perhaps more fully; the unanimous consent of so many distinct visible churches, as exhibited their several confessions, catechisms, or testimonies of their own and their forefathers' faith, unto the four first œcumenical councils, was an argument of the same force and efficacy against Arius and other heretics, for whose conviction these councils were called, as the general consent and practice of all nations in worshipping some divine power or other, have been in all ages against the atheists. Nothing besides the ingraffed notion of a Deity or divine power could have inclined so many several nations, so much different in natural disposition, in civil discipline and education, to affect or practise the duty of adoration. Nothing besides the evidence of truth delivered unto the Christian world by Christ and his apostles, could have kept so many several

churches, as communicated their confessions unto the council of Nice and Ephesus, &c., in the unity of the same faith.

4. Howbeit, this unanimous tradition ecclesiastic was not in these times held for any proper part of the rule of faith, but alleged only as an inducement to incline the hearts of such as before acknowledged the written word for the only rule of faith, to believe that the interpretations or decisions of those council did contain the true sense and meaning of the rule acknow- 893
ledged by all. So that the written tradition, which Vincentius so much commends, was not by the Nicene council used to any such purpose as the Romanists now use unwritten traditions. The only use of it was to direct the present church in her examination of the catholic truth, or points of faith. The chief authority which the visible church then challenged did consist in the unanimous consent of the ecclesiastic tradition, and that (as was said before) but an inducement to embrace the interpretations of the present church, and reject the interpretations of upstart heretics.

5. But was it a received truth in these primitive times, or a truth acknowledged by Vincentius, (the pretended patron of Roman catholic tradition,) that the joint consent of so many bishops as were assembled in the first council of Nice, or the joint confessions of so many several dioceses as were then delivered to that council, should, unto the world's end, continue an argument or inducement of like force or validity as it then was, either for establishment of the canons, which succeeding councils should make, or for condemning such opinions, as with the consent of as many (or more) bishops as were there assembled, should be condemned for heresies? No; the same

Vincentius hath given posterity a caveat as full of wisdom as of religion; in some cases not to admit of his former admonition concerning the trial of catholic faith, either for refelling heresies, or for establishing of the truth. The limitation of his former admonition is, in his own words, thus[n]: "As for ancient and inveterate heresies, they are not in any wise to be refuted by the former method, because continuance of time" (after heresies be once set on foot) "may afford heretics many opportunities of stealing truth" out of the writings of the ancient, or for exchanging orthodoxal antiquity with profane novelties.

Now what opportunities of falsification did these eight hundred years last past afford, which the Roman church was not always ready to take? The opportunities afforded, by dissolution of the Roman empire, and variance of Christian kings, first made the Roman clergy such sacrilegious thieves, as Vincentius supposeth any opportunity may make heretics to be. And the Roman church, being fleshed with the spoil of Christ's flock and Christian churches through the west, have not been wanting unto themselves in devising new opportunities in coining a new art of falsifying antiquity, of stealing the consent and suf-

[n] Sed neque semper, neque omnes hæreses hoc modo impugnandæ sunt, sed novitiæ recentesque tantummodo, cum primum scilicet exoriuntur, antequam infalsarint vetustæ fidei regulas, ipsius temporis vetentur angustiis, ac priusquam, manante latius veneno, majorum volumina vitiare conentur. Cæterum dilatatæ et inveteratæ hæreses nequaquam hac via aggrediendæ sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa iis furandæ veritatis patuerit occasio. Atque ideo quascunque illas antiquiores, vel schismatum vel hæreseon prophanitates nullo modo nos oportet, nisi aut sola, si opus est, scriptuarum authoritate convincere, aut certe jam antiquitus universalibus sacerdotum catholicorum consiliis, convictas damnatasque vitare, &c.—Vinc. Lirinens. Commonit. c. 39.

frages of the Christian world from orthodoxal and primitive truth. So that if this controversy may be examined and discussed by Vincentius' rules, since the first acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy, since the making of edicts for the acknowledging of it, since the exemption of clerks from royal or civil jurisdiction, all the written testimonies or unwritten traditions, which the children of the Romish church do or can rake together, are void in law and void in conscience; there is not so much as one legal single testimony; but all are as a multitude of false and 894
illegal witnesses, of parties or conspirators in their own cause.

6. But although heresies of long standing and continuance cannot be refuted, nor may not be assaulted in Vincentius' judgment by the former method, that is, by multitude of suffragants, or joint consent of several provinces; is there therefore no other means left to convince them, no way left to eschew them? "Yes, we may eschew them," saith he, "as already condemned by ancient and orthodoxal councils; or we may convince them, so it be needful or expedient, by the sole authority of scriptures." Now if the scriptures be sufficient to convince heresies of long continuance or long standing, and to confute such heretics as want neither wit, will, nor opportunity to falsify ancient records, and imprint traditions of their own coining with inscriptions of antiquity, I hope the same scripture was (in Vincentius' judgment) a rule of faith, neither uncomplete for its quantity, nor unsufficient for its quality; a rule every way competent for ending controversies in religion, without the assumption either of tradition or decrees of council, as any associates or homogeneal parts of the same rule.

7. Unto what use then did ecclesiastical tradition

or general councils serve for quelling heresies? Ecclesiastical traditions, or unanimous consent of particular churches throughout several kingdoms or provinces in points of faith, was in ancient times, and yet may be, an excellent means by which the Spirit of God leads general councils into the truth. And the councils, whose care and office it was to compare and examine traditions exhibited, were the sovereign and principal means, under the guidance of God's Spirit, by which as many as embraced the love of truth were led into all those truths which are at all times necessary to salvation, but were much questioned and obscured by the jugglings and falsifications of former heretics. Into the same truths which these councils were then, we now are led, not by relying upon the sole authority of the councils which the Spirit did lead, but by tracing their footsteps, and viewing the way by which the Spirit did lead them. And this was by necessary deductions or consequences, which reason, enlightened by the Spirit, and directed by the sweet disposition of Divine Providence, did teach them to make, and doth enable us to judge that they were truly made by them.

895 CHAP. XXIII.

Of the agreement between the enthusiast, or some nonconformitants to the church of England, and the Romish church, concerning the manner how the Spirit of truth (as they suppose) doth lead men into all truth. *That the true sense of scriptures is as determinable by light of reason and rules of art, as the conclusions of any other sciences or faculties are. A general survey of the depraved or more than heretical or heathenish infidelity of the modern Romish church.*

1. IGNORANCE or inadvertence of the manner how the Spirit leads us into the truth, or true sense

of the rule of faith, have been the mother of two monstrous twins in later ages; of enthusiasm, and of Romish implicit or magical faith. The enthusiast presumes he hath the Spirit for his guide, and knows he hath it merely by his breathing or afflation. The Romanist, observing the enthusiast to run into gross errors, by relying upon the immediate voice, the breathing or suggestion of his private spirit, thinks it safest to believe none but public spirits, and that the public spirit speaks nothing, or judgeth nothing for authentic, save only in public assemblies, as in general councils, or in such public place as is the consistory of the pope and his cardinals. Neither of them consider, as the truth is, that either the connexion between principles of faith, and the conclusions or inferences which follow upon the admission of such principles as true, or the noncoherence of inferences pretended from sacred principles expressly contained in the scriptures, may be as clearly demonstrated to reason, though unsanctified, as the connexion or noncoherence between the principles and conclusions of any art or science whatsoever. Between sciences, properly so called, and the faculty of divinity, this is the only difference: the principles or maxims of sciences, properly so called, may be rightly conceived and fully assented unto by mere light of nature, without such assistance or illumination of the Spirit as Christ hath promised to his church, and without which no principles of faith, though expressly contained in scripture, can be rightly conceived, much less firmly believed. So that the conclusions of arts and sciences may by light of nature be absolutely known; whereas even those conclusions of faith, whose connexion with the principles of faith (expressly con-

tained in scripture) is as clear and demonstratively evident to reason not enlightened by the Spirit, as any connexion is between scientifical conclusions and their principles, cannot be absolutely known or firmly believed without the assistance of the Spirit, because the principles whence they are deduced cannot by reason unsanctified, or not enlightened, be absolutely known or assented unto; and unless the principles be absolutely known or believed, the best knowledge or belief of the conclusions can be but conditional. Every artist knows that the connexion or noncoherence between a postulatum or hypothesis, (that is, a proposition not fully known, but taken as granted,) and the conclusion thence rightly deduced or pretended, may be as clear and evident as the connexion between undoubted principle and the conclusion demonstratively deduced from it, or pretended to be so deduced. He that is no competent judge of a problem, absolutely considered, may give absolute and infallible judgment
896 of the same problem upon the mutual acknowledgment or agreement of the controversers. As if two novices in arithmetic should move this question; Whether fifty were a square number, whether sixty-four were a cubic; and refer the decision of both *ore tenus*, to an exquisite mathematician that did not well understand English, it were impossible for him to resolve the problem before he perfectly understood the terms: but upon their mutual acknowledgment that fifty in English was as much at *quinquaginta* in Latin, and a square the same that *quadratum* in Latin, he could absolutely resolve them that fifty could be no square, that the next number below it was a square, although he knew not how to express it in English. Upon the acknowledgment of both parties likewise, that sixty-

four in English was as much as *sexaginta quatuor* in Latin, he could absolutely resolve them, that it was both a square and a cubic number.

2. To propose the like case in divinity, which shall be this; 'Whether polygamy be lawful, or rather a true branch of adultery:' suppose this controversy were to be handled before some heathen civilian, between two Christians, the one of which had married the other's daughter, and intended to marry a second wife in a foreign country, where the party grieved had no Christian magistrate to do him right; an heathen judge, that could understand the literal meaning of the scriptures, though he did not in any sort believe them, and made no conscience of polygamy himself, might in this case give as upright judgment as the pope and his cardinals could, and that according to the rule of faith, so the parties would both submit themselves to have the controversy decided by that rule, that is, by the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The party peccant might plead custom and tradition, the practice of the patriarchs and holy men of God, for his warrant, and that with greater probability than the Romanist can plead for worshipping images, or than they excuse themselves from spiritual adultery. If the party grieved should, against custom and tradition, plead or oppose that law, *Let every man have his wife, and every wife her husband*, or other like texts, which some great divines have alleged for decision of this case, they would not conclude the cause, specially before a judge not acquainted with the mystery of the creation: for he that hath a wife and a wife, hath a wife; and she that hath a husband and a husband, hath a husband. But if that precept of our Saviour—*Whosoever putteth away his wife, unless it be for adultery, and marrieth another, committeth adultery:*

and he that marrieth her being so put away committeth adultery[o]—were once produced, any heathen civilian might give this absolute and infallible sentence: 'If ye Christians will admit this law for true and just, or for a rule of conscience, then polygamy certainly is a natural part of adultery, and he that hath a wife and marrieth another, is to be punished as an adulterer.' For what is the reason why he that putteth away his wife, though by legal divorce, and marrieth another, committeth adultery with the second? or why he that marrieth the first, being so put away, is likewise an adulterer? Is not the reason because the bond of matrimony betwixt the husband and the first wife, according to this your Christian law, is not dissolved by a legal sentence of divorce, *extra casum adulterii*, "unless in case of adultery?" Yet as a sentence of divorce, gotten upon suspicion of adultery or subornation, or upon other causes which human laws and God's law unto the Jew did permit, cannot
897 by the evangelical law altogether dissolve the bond of matrimony; so, out of all question, it doth rather loosen or weaken it, than corroborate or knit it faster. Wherefore, if he that having gotten a sentence of divorce by formal course of law against his wife, become guilty of adultery in the court of conscience, and by the evangelical law, if he marry another; then much more shall he be an adulterer, who having a wife whose chastity was never called in question, against whom no sentence of law hath been obtained, if he shall presume to marry another. Thus far an heathen, by light of natural reason, without the assistance of God's Spirit, may go in this and many other controversies amongst Christians.

3. Were not most recusants throughout this king-

[o] Matt. xix. 9.

dom worse affected, I will not say towards us and our religion, but towards truth itself, even towards the light of the gospel, than any civil heathen either are or can be, they might as clearly discern the usurped authority of the Romish church over their faith, and over scriptures the rule of faith, to be as true a branch of apostasy from Christ, as polygamy is of adultery; and that it doth more evidently dissolve the bonds of matrimony betwixt Christ and his spouse the church, than polygamy or adultery doth the bond of matrimony betwixt man and wife. First, they make the scriptures, as was said before, not only an imperfect rule in respect of its quantity, but this defect being in their opinion supplied by associating unwritten traditions unto it; in the second place, they make both scriptures and unwritten traditions to be an unsufficient rule in respect of their quality. For it is their doctrine, that we cannot know which be canonical scriptures, which are not, which be authentic traditions, which not, but by relying upon the authority of the visible church. Again, admitting the church could determine which were authentic traditions, which were not, and that no traditions should hereafter be received besides those which she had determined; yet if any controversy should arise concerning the meaning of those scriptures which she hath determined to be canonical, or concerning the meaning, limitation, or use of these traditions which she hath acknowledged to be authentic, no private man may take upon him absolutely to believe this or that to be the meaning of either, but with submission of his judgment to the church's sentence. And this, as I have elsewhere shewed at large[p], is not only to make the authority of

[p] In the third book upon the Creed, sect. 4. [vol. ii.] See sect. 2. chap. 2, 3, 4. [vol. ii. p. 182, &c.]

the church to be above the authority of the scriptures, but utterly to nullify the authority of the scriptures, save only so far as they may serve as a stale or footstool to support or hold up the authority of the church or pope. So that the last resolution of the Romanist's belief, as out of their own comparisons of the scriptures to colours, and the authority of the church unto the light by which colours become visible to us, (as is elsewhere demonstrated[q],) must be this: that he absolutely believes only the infallible authority of the church concerning the truth of scriptures and their true meaning; their truth or meaning he neither absolutely nor infallibly believes. So that if he believe any divine truth, it is only *ex accidenti*, that is, inasmuch as the church doth not err in that point of faith which she proposeth unto him: howbeit, to believe that which is true upon no better motive or condition than this, is much worse than the ignorance of truth, or mere unbelief of the same truth. How many several divine truths or articles of faith soever he thus believeth, he can be no true catholic, because he believes no divine truth, but as it is mixed with
898 hellish antichristian falsehood. If we shall prove that this supposed infallibility of the Romish church doth in divers points induce not only heresy but infidelity, and that infidelity of a worse sort than can be incident to any heathen, I hope our intended conclusion will be sufficiently evicted, that whosoever holds this absolute infallibility of the present visible Romish church, whatsoever he holds besides, can be no catholic. To give you an instance for proof of this.

4. If one being a Christian shall steal, he doth commit a grievous sin, yet a sin of one kind or species, that is, theft; he doth not thereby cease to

[q] In the book forecited, sect. 4. cap. 5. par. 12.

be a Christian, he doth not thereby become an infidel or antichristian. The like we may say of fornication, adultery, murder, incest, or the like, all which are grievous sins, and without repentance exclude men from the kingdom of heaven. Yet can we not say that they make a man an infidel, though worthy to be cast out of the church, until he give full proof of his humble submission and hearty repentance for his fact. But if any man that hath been baptized and made a partaker of the word, which in many points he believes, shall by covetousness, malice, intemperancy, or the like, have so far corrupted the seeds of Christianity, or law of God written in his heart, as he shall think that which indeed and truth is theft, fornication, adultery, murder, or incest, to be no sin, he is by the general verdict of the schools not only an heretic, but an infidel. Now infidelity is of two sorts, either *infidelitas puræ negationis*, "privative infidelity," such as is in the heathen, which have not known God or his laws, as having no commerce with his people, or *infidelitas pravæ dispositionis*, "depraved infidelity," of which there be more degrees; as, first, it may be in the heathen, to whom the truth of the law or gospel hath been imparted, but they have impugned both, or had them in derision; or it may be in the Jew, which acknowledgeth the truth of Mosaical and prophetical writings, and yet oppugns the truth of the gospel which is contained in them with greater spite and violence than the heathen, which acknowledge neither. Briefly, as the contrariety is greatest which is betwixt opposite qualities of nearest alliance in the predicamental line, such as have the same immediate or *proximum genus;* so is their infidelity or enmity unto the catholic faith most deadly which communicate with true catholics in most prin-

ciples, and yet swerve grossly from them, and from the truth, in some particular principles or practices thereon grounded. As, for an heathen to hold murder or incest to be no sin, is not a crime so heinous as the like in a Jew: for a Jew to license or authorize incestuous marriages, to allow or reward the murder of Christians, for whom Christ shed his blood, includes not so great an enmity unto Christ and his laws, it argues not so high a degree of infidelity, as the like practice or opinions do in him that professeth himself to be a Christian—to be a successor of Christ's apostles—to be Christ's vicar here on earth.

5. To prove our intended conclusion by full induction; first, let inquiry be made what pillage and spoils of ecclesiastical benefices the pope or (which is all one) the church of Rome hath made by bulls of provision throughout this and other kingdoms, whereby many Christians have been induced to account sacrilege no sin. Secondly, what oaths, whether of allegiance from subjects to their sovereigns, or of solemn leagues betwixt prince and prince, or free sovereignties, or of solemn contracts betwixt man and wife, have
899 been dispensed withal, and utterly nullified by the pope; by which means a great part of the Christian world have been seduced to esteem breach of lawful vows or perjury, joined with disloyalty, to be no sin. Thirdly, what marriages the pope hath licensed between parties forbidden to marry, not only by the law of God, but by the civil law of the ancient Romans, and other nations, by which means many great families, and whole Christian kingdoms, have been induced to account such incest or fornication, as was loathsome to the Gentiles, to be no sin. Fourthly, what massacres or cruel butcheries of men, never convicted or condemned by course of law, have been

either licensed beforehand, or commanded, or else allowed, approved, and commended after the fact done, by the pope, whereby many Christians have been seduced to account cruel murder no sin, but a meritorious act, yea an act of mercy and pity towards Christ's church. If all such particulars as belong to every branch here specified, and have been related by unpartial historians, were duly collected and examined with the circumstances, we might refer it to any heathen civilian, to any whom God hath not given over to a reprobate sense to believe lies, whether the supposed infallibility of the Romish church, or the prerogative given to the pope by his followers, be not, according to the evangelical law and their own tenents, worse than heresy, and worse than any branch of infidelity, whereof any Jew or heathen is capable; yea the very ἀκμὴ or period of antichristianism.

Why should we look for a greater Antichrist in Rome or elsewhere than hath been already revealed, whenas the pope hath herein manifested himself to be the firstborn of Satan, in that he takes authority upon him to execute the prerogative wherein Satan and his angels most delight; that is, of turning God's affirmative precepts into negatives, and God's negative precepts into affirmatives.

6. Amongst other explicit articles of the Roman creed, which every bishop at his consecration is bound by oath to maintain, this is one; that in the mass there is *sacrificium verum proprium et propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis*, "a propitiatory sacrifice as well for the dead as for the living." How far this heresy doth contaminate or overthrow the canon of catholic faith, into which it is inserted by Pius Quartus, as it were a toad or spider put into the chalice or wine of the sacred eucharist, I am not now to meddle. My

only purpose for this present is to give the reader to understand, that, failing in other points about consecration of bishops in England, their principal exceptions against our church and ministry is, that our priests in their ordination do not receive the power of sacrificing Christ's body and blood in the sacrament. But their inserting this clause into the form of ordination doth prove their priesthood to be antichristian; and as many as received ordination in this form had the number, though not the character of the beast. And although this clause did not nullify their priesthood, which had been thus ordained before the doctrine of the present mass was fully discovered to be a part of Antichrist's liturgy, yet doth it now make all communion with them, either in ordination, or in the Romish sacrament of the eucharist, to be a desperate heresy: and for this cause the controversy about the mass must be reserved to the second book of this treatise.

A TREATISE

OF

CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE.

An Advertisement to the Reader,

WHO in the perusal of the ensuing discourses will find that they are grounded upon Rom. xiii. 1, &c., and that they were sermons upon that text. The two or three first have respect unto the former part of his twelfth book. And all have a prospect to a little book in octavo, which speaks great things for the bishop of Rome: *Ampullas et sesquipedalia verba:* printed anno Dom. 1617, (the place where is not set down,) intituled, "The Right and Jurisdiction of the Prelate and the Prince, &c.; compiled by J. E., student in divinity," &c. This J. E., (amongst many other erroneous opinions in his book,) in his sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters, labours to prove, that princes, kings, yea emperors, have no authority to govern the church, or to make ecclesiastical laws, &c.; but that the pope, though he be not direct temporal lord of the world, nor of any part thereof, by Christ's express gift; yet by the spiritual power which Christ gave him in his predecessor St. Peter, (John xxi,) may dispose of temporal things, even of kingdoms, for the good of the church, &c.; and in some cases can, even by deprivation, chastise princes who are rebellious, and do tyrannically persecute the church. And whereas one, either the true or a personated Roger Widdrington, and some others of Romish persuasion, had so much conscience and loyalty, he to write for the lawfulness of taking the oath of allegiance, and they to take the same; this J. E., in his fifteenth chapter, strives to prove, that the oath can neither be proposed nor taken without sin.

Against this bold author on the one hand, and on the other against such amongst us as yield not due obedience either to laws civil or ecclesiastical, to their prince or to their prelate, doth our good author level much of his discourse.

The reader may perhaps be content to be advertised of

one particular more, viz. that there be two books which pass under the name of Roger Widdrington; one called, *Disputatio Theologica de Juramento Fidelitatis*, quoted often by J. E. in his fifteenth chapter; the other, *Responsio Apologetica*, cited by J. E. p. 295. But I have heard a very ancient and most learned man, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, of happy memory, say, that the reputed author (at least of one of those books) was a priest of the church of Rome, called Father Preston, who was prisoner in the Clink in Southwark, and being afraid of hard usage, chose to continue so, rather than to enjoy a dangerful liberty, esteeming his prison a castle or sanctuary rather than a gaol. [Edit. 1673.]

A TREATISE

OF

CHRISTIAN OBEDIENCE.

CHAP. I. 901

The bounds of Christian obedience most necessary to be known. Whether the civil or ecclesiastical power be most absolutely supreme; whether regal or papal be so.

ROMANS XIII. 1, &c.

Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, &c.

§. 1. FOR holding the unity of the holy catholic faith in the bond of Christian love, no branch of knowledge is of like avail, as to know the bounds of Christian obedience. For faith and obedience are so near allied, that he which knows not the limits of the one, must needs transgress the bounds and limits of the other, or at least be defective in observing them. The very seeds of Christian faith (as experienced seedsmen too well know) cannot be sown in their hearers' hearts until they be moulded into civil obedience. Yet until Christian faith be not only sown, but uniformly set in men's hearts, their best obedience is but blind; and being such, the more zealous it is in the general, the more prone it is to stumble or fall into particulars of greatest danger; as nothing to a blind man is more dangerous than to intend his strength, to run (as we

say) his full speed, without a trusty guide to acquaint him with the particular differences of the ground. Nothing again can make so wide a rupture in the bond of peace, and set the pillars of the church militant so far at odds, as the proneness of superiors to challenge more than is due to them, and the backwardness of inferiors to render so much obedience as is justly due from them. This hath been the original of all sedition and mutiny in states or commonweals; and nothing but this bred that lamentable schism or rift in the walls of God's house, and is now ready to rend the roof from the foundation. Thus by Satan's policy it is come to pass, that the controversies concerning obedience (which should set an end to all other contentions) are become in this last age almost endless, or at least in human sight remediless.

§. 2. That obedience is most due to higher powers, no inferior, that bears the name of a Christian, dares deny *in thesi*. But this firm agreement in the general serves only to intend the contrariety, or to abet contentions about particulars. The heat of the contention is either about the measure of obedience which is due
902 to any, even to the highest powers on earth, (and this directly between superiors and inferiors,) or it is between the higher powers themselves, which of them should be accounted highest, or to whom inferiors should be most absolutely subject. The branches of this contention are especially two: the first, most general and transcendent, whether the spiritual or temporal, or, in other terms, the civil or ecclesiastical power be to be esteemed by all good Christians more absolutely supreme: the second, whether the regal or papal power be more sovereign. To begin with the former.

§. 3. The advocates for the Romish church com-

monly begin their plea at that point of comparison which no good protestant can well deny, without disparagement to the cause in hand, without disadvantage to the main conclusion which he is to make good against them. That (say they) is more excellent which is more immediately from God, and is for quality more like unto the most excellent nature; but such is the power spiritual by which the kingdom of heaven is propagated and conserved, whereas the most sovereign effects of the highest temporal or civil powers are but the establishment or preservation of kingdoms or societies temporal.

That the power spiritual, indefinitely and absolutely taken, is for quality more excellent than mere temporal power so taken, may not be denied; but that temporal powers are not immediately from God will be hard for the Romanist to prove. The instances of Adam, Melchisedec, Moses, Saul, and David prove the contrary. And the author of the book, entituled, "The Right of the Prelate and the Prince," granteth, that in the law of nature the first begotten of every family were priests and temporal lords. Melchisedec also, and Moses, and the Maccabees, were priests and princes. For which he citeth St. Hierom, epist. 126. ad Evagrium. See chap. 6. §. 1. p. 116. That power royal, or government monarchical, though immediately from God, is not so absolutely and universally necessary to the mere being of a Christian church, as spiritual power abstractly and indefinitely taken, or as power apostolical at first was, and as the ordinary power thereof in succession is, may, without prejudice to truth or to royal majesty, be granted.

But yet the church is never so happy as when kings (bringing their power into the church, to the advancement of Christ's kingdom within their do-

minions) become *nursing fathers* (of the fathers and children) of Christ's church, providing *that they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*. So that part of the argument fails which says, that power regal procures only temporal good.

No man denies but that there may be a supreme lawful temporal power, or independent government, without power royal or monarchical. The Venetian commonwealth is as absolute and independent as either the kingdom of France or of Spain. He that should disobey the duke and senate of Venice in any case temporal, should be as guilty of disobedience against this precept of our apostle here in my text, as any Frenchman that should disobey the French king, or any Spaniard that should appeal from the king of Spain, in a cause civil or temporal. But as there may be absolute sovereignties or commonwealths without one absolute king or monarch, so can there not (as some learned prelates think) be any true visible church without episcopal authority.

Yet all this will never infer, that the persons in
903 whom this spiritual power is vested should have sovereignty over kings; to whom St. Peter, after he had received his power spiritual from his Master, gives the style and title of *supreme;* remembering well that *Christ's kingdom was not of this world;* and arrogating to himself no greater gift of power than Christ himself was seized on. No more than that part of the argument, 'more like unto the most excellent nature,' will infer, that the man who is best accomplished with spiritual graces, and consequently most partaker of the divine nature, may *de jure* claim the government of the world, or of the kingdom, county, or corporation wherein he lives.

Solomon says, *The righteous is more excellent than*

his neighbour. Prov. xii. 26. Yet yield but once, what is presupposed to the argument, that the greatest excellency qualifies for the challenging of supremacy, or, which is much the same, that dominion over the creature is founded in grace, (by reason that spiritual graces be far more excellent than spiritual gifts; and spiritual power is but a gift,) and then ye tempt the precious saints to muster *decem legiones;* and if God suffer them to prosper, they will be the godly party, whether man will or no.

The efficacy and excellence of grace spiritual is seen in qualifying all that have it for the kingdom of heaven, but not all for the government of earthly kingdoms or churches. But where it is bestowed upon such as be lawfully endued either with power temporal or spiritual, there it sanctifies their several ministrations to God's glory, their own account, and to the benefit of all under their respective governments.

And so the excellency of power spiritual (even when it is vested in persons not sanctified with spiritual grace) is manifested, not in advancing those that have it above the kings of the earth, but in this rather, that being bestowed upon inferiors and subjects, it enables them with commission and gifts to preach Christ before kings; to negociate *as ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech* kings *by them*, 2 Cor. v. 20; and they in Christ's stead did pray them to be reconciled to God; and in Christ's name to prevail so with them by demonstration of the truth in Christ, that being convinced and persuaded, they embrace the faith, continue therein, maintain the power spiritual, not only in its due privileges, but with such advantages and encouragements secular as may facilitate the gospel's propagation, and the multiplication of grace and peace amongst Christians.

§. 4. For further answer to the foregoing argument, it shall suffice to note, that the Romanist makes an unequal comparison, and sets the terms of his proportion awry, when he compares spiritual power indefinitely taken with power royal or monarchical, which is but a branch, though the highest branch of power civil or temporal. The question should be betwixt authority spiritual or ecclesiastic, indefinitely taken, and between power civil or temporal alike indefinitely taken. Power temporal or civil thus taken is immediately from God; and government temporal itself, in some one kind or other, (that is, monarchical, aristocratical, or mixed, or &c.,) is *de jure divino*, as well as power spiritual or ecclesiastic is. They are so *de jure divino*, that without subjection to higher powers temporal, there can be no kingdom, no commonwealth, or lawful society of men. The comparison again should be set between power royal or monarchical, (which is the highest branch of power temporal,) and the power papal or pontifical, which is the highest branch (by
904 the Romanists' acknowledgment) of power spiritual. Now that the royal power is more immediately from God than the papal power, though some later Romanists have denied, we shall prove, by God's assistance, in our answer to their objections. The first whereof you heard before, to wit, 'that the spiritual or ecclesiastical is more excellent than the temporal;' yet not therefore more excellent in that it is more immediately from God than the temporal is, but that it is from a more special beam of celestial or divine influence than the temporal power is; for unto the invention of human laws or government, no supernatural grace or endowments were necessary. Man's natural reason, by the guidance of God's providence, did begin, erect, and establish temporal kingdoms or

commonwealths; whereas the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven, or the spiritual laws, by which the church of Christ is directed, could not be propagated, much less could the kingdom of God be planted in men's hearts without special gifts or graces, or participation of the Spirit, as well in the pastor or teacher as in the hearer. Kingdoms and commonwealths were come to their height before our Saviour's ascension into heaven: so was not the church or kingdom of Christ. Therefore, when he ascended, (saith St. Paul, Ephes. iv. 11, 12,) *he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.* That which our apostle in this place speaks of, was foretold by the Psalmist, ps. lxviii. 18, and was accomplished in the day of Pentecost, after our Saviour's ascension, as you may read, Acts ii. 3, 4. And all this was done according to our Saviour's promise: he *commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me.* Acts i. 4. And again, ver. 8: *Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.* If we consider the manner how the spiritual power (whereby the church of Christ or kingdom of God is erected) was first communicated unto the apostles and their successors, we cannot deny, but that as the qualification, so likewise the donation or communication of it, was more admirable than the donation of that power or qualification which God bestows upon temporal kings or princes. The conclusion then is, that if we compare the spiritual power with the temporal in

abstracto, or by themselves, they differ as much for excellency as the visible Jerusalem, which was in David's time, doth from the new Jerusalem which comes down from heaven.

§. 5. But how excellent soever the spiritual power be in itself, or how far soever it excel the power temporal, this will never infer the conclusion intended by the Romanist; which is, that we owe more absolute obedience unto spiritual persons, or ecclesiastic governors, than we do unto kings or princes, or such as they call *secular governors*. The dauphin of France, the prince or infanta of Spain, are parties more excellent than a burgrave of some ordinary city or free state in Germany. Yet there is no German burgher but owes more obedience to the burgrave or chief governor of the city wherein he lives, than he doth either to the dauphin of France or prince of Spain; because how excellent soever they be whilst compared with other men of place or dignity, yet such as live not in their dominions are not subordinate to their power or jurisdiction; and being not subject to their power or jurisdiction, they owe them only respect and reverence,
905 no legal obedience. In like manner, how excellent soever the power spiritual or ecclesiastic be in itself, or whilst compared with temporal dignities, yet will it not hence follow that temporal powers or dignities shall be in temporal subjection, or owe obedience unto it; otherwise the Roman clergy might challenge jurisdiction over the great Turk, or other heathen princes, which yet they do not in word or express terms, but rather disclaim the title given to the pope by some canonists as unjust and scurrilous; but how justly or truly, comes hereafter to be examined. We now take that which they expressly grant, to wit, that the superexcellency of the spiritual power in respect of the

temporal, doth not infer a civil or temporal subordination of the one unto the other, without which temporal governors cannot be convinced to owe obedience, or to be subject to ecclesiastic governors.

§. 6. That all temporal powers and laws are truly subordinate to the spiritual power or ecclesiastic laws, may thus with probability plausibly be pleaded. First, it cannot be denied but that kingdoms and commonwealths, kings and princes themselves, were made Christians, or members of Christ's church, by the apostles and their successors, which had received spiritual power immediately from Christ. Now it is not to be imagined, that either the apostles or their successors would admit any into the church, or make them partakers of the word and sacraments, without administering to them an oath of allegiance *unto the Lord of lords, and King of kings;* without that solemn care for observing of God's laws, which we do this day take of every infant, though heir apparent to the crown, by his sureties, at his baptism; so that no king or monarch, no potentate temporal, can so much as plead his title to Christianity, or pretend his right unto the sacraments of Christ, but he must withal acknowledge himself likewise bound to alter, revoke, and repeal whatsoever laws or constitutions temporal, whether made by himself or by his predecessors, which shall be contrary or repugnant to the laws, or inconsistent with the ordinances of Christ his Lord and God. And if the laws of kings and princes, or of every Christian commonwealth, must be thus absolutely subordinate to the laws of Christ, doth it not stand as well with reason as with religion, that the interpreters of the laws civil or temporal should be in the like subordination to the interpreters of the laws spiritual, or ordinances of Christ? unless perhaps you will say,

that the interpreters of laws temporal or civil are better qualified for their function than the interpreters of laws spiritual are for theirs: but to say this, is void of reason; first, because skill in every faculty or function doth come by industry, or experience in the same faculty or function; and it cannot be denied, but that the interpreters of divine laws have been and may be men of as profound judgment and learning, men every way capable of as great improvement in their wits and judgment in matters which they most affect or mind, men altogether as indefatigable and industrious in their studies, as the interpreters of temporal laws are, and why then should they not be as well believed in their proper faculty, that is, in the interpretation of laws divine and spiritual, as temporal judges are in their interpretations of laws temporal? specially seeing the interpreters of laws spiritual have more peculiar promises for the assistance of God's Spirit, by whom God's laws were first written, than the interpreters of laws temporal have any. And if the inter-
906 preters of the divine or laws spiritual be as well or better to be believed in their interpretations than the interpreters of laws temporal are, the interpreters of laws temporal must be subordinate to the interpreters of laws spiritual, because the laws temporal are subordinate to the laws spiritual, and by consequence every good Christian which is subject to both must owe more absolute obedience to the ecclesiastical magistrate or interpreters of laws spiritual, than he doth unto the temporal magistrate or interpreters of laws temporal or civil. Every good law (as one saith) is a silent or tacit magistrate; and every good magistrate is a speaking law. Now if the silent or tacit magistrate temporal be subordinate or subject unto the tacit or silent magistrate spiritual, what reason can be

imagined why the speaking law temporal should not be subordinate or subject to the speaking law spiritual or ecclesiastic, which is no other than the spiritual or ecclesiastic magistrate, who, for these reasons, may justly seem to be the supreme magistrate in every commonwealth or kingdom truly Christian.

§. 7. To these objections some learned protestants answer, that not only temporal laws, but all temporal power, is subordinate to the power spiritual or ecclesiastic; and temporal magistrates subordinate likewise to the power ecclesiastic, or to the interpreters of God's laws, unto Christ's ambassadors, *quoad potestatem directivam*, though not *quoad potestatem coercivam;* that is, they are bound in conscience and by allegiance to Christ and his laws to be directed by his ambassadors as well in making of laws, as in the managing of many public affairs; albeit Christ's ambassadors have no power or authority to compel the temporal magistrate to follow their directions, much less to execute their designs or commands; no not when they command nothing but that which Christ already by his laws hath commanded. To this answer we may further add, that the temporal or civil power is subordinate to the power ecclesiastic, not only as it is directive, but as it is in some manner coercive. For to say there is no manner of ecclesiastic coercive power on earth, were to derogate from the authority which Christ hath given to his church; and if we grant a power ecclesiastic coercive, we may not submit it to the temporary power coercive. All this may be granted without any the least prejudice to the privileges of sovereignties of commonwealths, whether democratical or aristocratical, or without impeachment or impairment of the prerogatives of kings and monarchs. And this assertion is so far from giving any advantage to the chief enemy

of our church and commonweal, (I mean the Romanist,) that if it be rightly explicated it will dead the strength of their strongest objections, and quell the poison of their odious invectives against us. For however they bear the world in hand with the former plausible premises, concerning the excellency of the spiritual power in respect of the temporal, or with the subordination of authority civil unto the authority ecclesiastic, (as if they intended no more in practice than what will follow out of the former premises or speculative principles,) yet in the issue these cunning jugglers by sleighty conveyance secretly shuffle in other principles, from which their traitorous conclusions and rebellious practices are necessarily derived, and may clearly be convinced.

§. 8. The premises by which they must be convinced of treason and rebellion are these especially: first, they take it as granted (or at least hope to pass with it unespied) that the ecclesiastic power, as well directive as coercive, is entirely seated in the body of
907 the clergy, as it is an order of men distinct from the laity. Secondly, they invest the body of the clergy with all the privileges and prerogatives of an absolute independent commonwealth, able to make laws by itself, and will not permit the body or community of the laity (no not as it consists of prince and people, of magistrates and private men) to be any parts or members of the church, or of that society which hath power to make laws ecclesiastic. They hold it as *the abomination of desolation sitting in the holy place*, to permit secular princes or magistrates either to give voice or suffrage in deciding controversies of faith, or in making laws or canons, whether directive or coercive, or to intermeddle in the execution of or dispensation with such canons, otherwise than they shall be

directed and appointed by the clergy. Thirdly, they make the body of the clergy (which they thus invest with all the prerogatives of a commonwealth) to be a kingdom, or monarchical kind of government; and make the pope or bishop of Rome a more absolute monarch over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastic, over the whole church representative, than kings or emperors are over their laity in causes temporal.

§. 9. These be the premises, which, once granted, will necessarily bring forth that dangerous conclusion, which will inevitably draw all states and kingdoms, as well heathen as Christian, into the Romish net. So that every pope in his generation is a fisher of men, and may have a fairer draught at his pleasure of princes and potentates than St. Peter had of fishes, when he said unto our Saviour, *Lord, depart from me, for I am a sinful man.* But seeing the most part of modern priests and Jesuits do grant that the pope by being Christ's vicar-general in matters spiritual hath no dominion or lordship, no jurisdiction over such as are not in the church, much less over princes and potentates heathen, how can their doctrine be justly censured for tending to the captivation or subjection of heathen princes or monarchs? *What have I to do,* saith St. Paul, *to judge such as are without? do not ye judge* such as *are within* the church? such as *are without, God* shall judge. 1 Cor. v. 12, 13. This saying of St. Paul the Romish church doth in words acknowledge for canonical: but St. Paul and St. Peter were but simple fishers; they had not the wit or skill to angle for such great ones as modern priests and Jesuits know to hook; nor to draw such multitudes to their spiritual net, as these do into their temporal. The former principle, 'that the church representative, or body of the clergy, is by God endowed with all the

privileges of an absolute independent commonwealth,' presupposed, the first and main thread of their temporal net is this; no state or kingdom is so absolute in itself, so independent on others, or so supreme over some others, but that it may make itself inferior unto some other free state or kingdom by doing it manifest wrong, without security of doing it right. For every one that doth wrong to another, doth subject or make himself inferior to that other, until he be ready to make an amends, or recompense for the wrongs done. Now in case any nation or kingdom have openly wronged another, and will not be as ready to make it recompense, the state wronged may do itself right by open war, or other coercive means. And seeing the end of all war is just peace, whosoever hath power to begin a just war, hath full power and authority to prosecute the war so begun; though it be to the death or deposition of him or them that did the wrong, and would not do right when satisfaction was demanded, in case that peace (which is the work of justice) cannot be obtained or settled without the death or deposi-
908 tion of him or them that either did the wrong, or maintain or abet the doers of it. Many states or nations, which were originally free or independent, have by these means become subject and tributary unto others. No civil nation or people did ever pretend to bring others into subjection, but upon allegation of wrongs (at least pretended) to have been received from them, without any just recompense or satisfaction. Now the title of conquest is held the most sovereign title that any king or potentate can pretend for his absolute monarchy or supremacy; and this title is never so just and good, as when the conquered puts it into the conqueror's hand, by denying him or his people justice or satisfaction for his wrong done.

§. 10. But what advantage can the church or clergy of Rome get by this plea against heathen princes? Much every way, if their former principles were true. Other states or kingdoms, how absolute or free soever, cannot take any just occasion to captivate their neighbours until their neighbours excite them to it by some wrong; but the pope or church of Rome can both give and take occasion to invade or subdue any nation or kingdom upon the earth as oft as they please, or shall see opportunity to effect their designs. Their general or transcendent title to subdue or captivate kingdoms is this; our Saviour Christ at his ascension gave this commission to his apostles; *Ite, prædicate—Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Matt. xxviii. 19. This commission did not expire with that age; our Saviour Christ has (say the Romanists) left the same authority with St. Peter; St. Peter left it in his chair at Rome; and from his chair it is derived unto all St. Peter's successors, unto every pope in his generation. Every pope hath *supremum jus prædicandi evangelium,* supreme authority to preach the gospel, power to delegate such ambassadors as he shall please for preaching the gospel to all nations under heaven, to baptize and catechise them in the Roman catholic faith. But what if any nation will not entertain such ambassadors as he shall send, but deny them entrance into their cities, or punish them as sowers of sedition or rebellion, if they shall presume to intrude themselves into their dominions? By any of these means or the like the most absolute sovereignty or heathen empire through the world may make itself subject to the pope or church of Rome, or give them a just title (if their principles be true) to subdue or conquer them. The case is all one as if

the state of A, which is always subject to the state of B, should offer violence or disgrace to an ambassador of B, or not permit him to receive such monies or emoluments as are due unto his master. In like manner, what nation soever shall deny such priests or Jesuits, as the pope shall send, liberty to preach the Roman catholic faith, or shall restrain their commission given by the pope, doth thereby expose itself to just war; and whomsoever the pope shall authorize to manage the war, in maintenance of his right, or for recompensing the loss or damage done to his servants, he may lawfully proceed to the deposition of the prince or potentate so offending; and may subject his kingdom or people to the see of Rome, or to any other temporal prince on whom the pope shall please to bestow it. This was the only title the Spaniard could pretend for bringing the poor Americans or West Indians under his heavy yoke, because they would not suffer the Romish priests to use such means as they thought fittest for propagating the Romish catholic faith amongst them.

§. 11. Suppose those of China, or other nations of
909 the East Indians, did throughly understand the mystery of this iniquity, (as there is no question but some of them suspected it,) all these friars and Jesuits, which the Romish church doth celebrate as martyrs, are justly by them put to death as traitors and enemies to the state. Howbeit it cannot be so great a grief or heartburning to every subject or good patriot to see his country endangered or brought to ruin by this pretence of subduing them to the gospel, as it is to every good Christian (though but a bystander or spectator of the proceeding) to see and consider how the kingdom of grace (the gospel of peace, which is *the power of God unto salvation*) should by these im-

pious seducers become a stale to imbrue the world in blood, to work the ruin of prince and people, and the subversion of mighty nations.

§. 12. But it will be replied, that if it shall happen that any heathen prince shall be deposed, or any state or kingdom come to ruin by this means, the fault is their own; for if they would hearken to the Roman catholic faith, which these men preach, they may rest secure that the pope will never make war against them, or authorize others to invade or conquer them. But suppose any heathen state or kingdom would duly hearken to the pope's messengers or ambassadors, and admit of whatsoever they teach for gospel, should they be in any better case than they are by denying them entertainment? or should their kings and princes be as sovereign rulers after they became Christians as they were before? No, every one that so much as listens to the pope's catechism doth thereby become a son of the church, and by receiving this favour or blessing at the church's hand he binds himself to the obedience of a son; and what harm in all this? There were none, if it were so with the sons of the Romish church as it is with the sons of God: *If ye be sons,* (to wit, *of God,* saith the apostle,) *then are ye heirs; co-heirs with Christ.* But heathen kings or princes by becoming sons of the Romish church disinherit themselves of their kingdoms; they are not so much as heirs apparent to the crown, but stand in the condition or state of slaves; for howsoever these impostors acknowledge kings to be supreme governors in causes temporal, and with these fair titles deceive the people, as if they intended no treason, or were not traitors; yet when they say they are supreme governors only in causes temporal, they make them supreme governors only in those matters which by their doctrine

are essentially subordinate and subject to foreign ecclesiastic power coercive; and this in effect is no more than if they said, 'Kings and monarchs are the pope's chief slaves or supreme servants;' for even amongst slaves or bondmen some are of higher, some of lower, others of a middle rank; no king or prince by their doctrine can truly be accounted a freeman or denizen in the state wherein he lives, seeing no king can have so much as a voice or suffrage in making those ecclesiastic canons, unto which he, his people, all his laws temporal, are subordinate and subject. For no man would think him to be a freeman in any corporation that hath no voice in making the temporal laws by which he is to be governed, or at least in choosing such as have interest in the making of public laws.

§. 13. Suppose any prince that hath been baptized should take upon him to make any law with the consent of his people which might be thought to cross the canons of the church of Rome, as, for example, to restrain his subjects for giving lands to the maintenance of Romish priests and Jesuits, this law is void, and
910 must be repealed, otherwise the prince that makes it may be deposed by whomsoever the pope shall appoint for the execution of his sentence. And after a king be once blasted with the pope's breath thundering out an excommunication against him, any man may without danger be his executioner; nay, to be the executioner or hangman of such as the pope condemns is a more honourable service than to be a temporal judge or supreme magistrate; it is a work by their doctrine meritorious of glory. Yet all of them do not hold the temporal authority to be thus far enslaved to the ecclesiastic power, as that the pope may at his pleasure depose such kings as shall contradict his laws; for some Roman catholics (as they would be called) will

take the oath of allegiance; and by so doing they seem to disclaim this pretended authority of the church of Rome as an usurpation, and not to hold it an article of their faith.

CHAP. II.

The doctrine of the Romanist concerning the visible church's constitution and infallibility. The council of Lateran's decree against temporal lords that did not purge their lands of heretics. Pope Gregory the Seventh in a national council at Rome deposed the emperor Henry the Fourth. The question, Whether the pope have power to depose princes, handled. The king's supremacy maintained.

§. 1. By *the visible church* (which in the Romanist's doctrine cannot err) they always mean either the church representative or the virtual church. The church representative is (in their language) either a general council called and approved of by the pope, or a national or provincial council wherein the pope sits as president, or the pope and his cardinals. The virtual church (according to their doctrine) is the pope alone speaking *e cathedra.* And he alone, whilst he thus speaks, is as infallible as the church representative in the amplest extent, to wit, a general council. For that a council cannot err it merely proceeds from the virtue of the pope's infallibility speaking *e cathedra;* who is always presumed thus to speak in his ratifications, whether of general or provincial councils, though not only then; but even when he speaks alone, without the assistance or suffrages of councils or cardinals, so he speaks to all, and exact belief or obedience to his decrees or injunctions at the hands of all Christian people.

§. 2. Now if the Romish church (taken in all or any of these senses for the church representative or

virtual) be infallible, then the pope may depose princes, and give their crowns to others. For in the council of Lateran (which was as general and universal as any council ever was wherein the pope did either sit as president or gave suffrage) it was decreed, that such temporal lords as would not purge their lands and territories of heretics—and heretics all were to be accounted which that council had condemned for such—should be excommunicated by their metropolitan and the rest of his comprovincial bishops. And in case any temporal lord should not give satisfaction within one year, his contempt should be signified to the pope, who from that time forth might denounce his vassals freed from all fidelity unto him, and might expose his land to be possessed by catholics, who (heretics being exterminated) might possess it without any contradiction, and conserve it in purity of faith, with-
911 out prejudice to the principal lord, so that he put no obstacle or impediment; the same law notwithstanding observed concerning those which have no temporal lords [a].

§. 3. Again, in a national council of Rome, held in the year 1076, pope Gregory the Seventh did excommunicate and depose Henry the Fourth emperor of Germany [b]. Other popes, without consent of any council general or provincial, have deposed kings and emperors [c]. Schuskenius hath produced twenty-eight popes that have denounced deposition against emperors, kings, and princes. And queen Elizabeth was, as they teach, deposed *de jure* by Pius Quintus, although she recovered her right again by the pope's silence or neglect to put his sentence of deposition in execution. Now every one that believes the church of Rome cannot err

[a] The author of the Prelate and Prince, cap. 11. sect. 2. p. 229.

[b] Ibid. sect. 9. p. 240.

[c] Ibid. cap. 12. p. 248.

in points of faith and manners, must acknowledge the pope's power for deposing princes to be a branch of this infallibility, and to be now an article of faith, as being determined for such by this supposed infallibility of the popes and councils. For, as a late Romish writer very well informs us, unless this were a point of faith, and so purposely defined by the council of Lateran, confirmed by Innocent the Third, and by the council of Rome confirmed by Gregory the Seventh, and by other popes in their definitive sentences to this purpose, these councils and popes had grievously sinned in taking upon them to depose kings and emperors; yea, they had committed the sin of Jeroboam with an high hand, in making all those Christian people to sin most grievously, which by their command took arms against their emperors, or renounced their oaths of allegiance made to their sovereign lord. But that the pope, or councils confirmed by any popes, should by any decree induce or authorize Christian people to commit sin, were in effect to deny their infallibility, and this is the greatest sin that any Roman catholic can commit. Necessary therefore it is (by this author's collections) for every Roman catholic to hold it as a point of faith, that the pope or see of Rome hath power to depose princes, and that the Germans did not sin in renouncing their allegiance unto such of their emperors as the pope had deposed, or in taking arms against them. Now this last conclusion, 'that the pope may depose kings and dispose of their kingdoms,' being admitted as a point of faith, it must needs be a fearful sin for any subject of this kingdom to take the oath of allegiance, wherein he swears to the contrary, or contradictory to this conclusion; for this (by their doctrine) is to abjure the faith, and the church's infallible interpretation of that scripture whereupon this power

of the pope is grounded. For to justify this conclusion many popes have solemnly avouched those words of our Saviour, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* Against the visible church of Rome the gates of hell indeed shall never prevail in audacious shameless outfacing impudency. That pope which deposed the emperor, and others of his successors, have prevailed, I cannot say against the gates of hell, but in some sort over them; for by their shameless glosses upon this text, and false pretences of St. Peter's authority, the gates of hell, within these 600 years, have much improved their strength, and found opportunity to spend their venom upon Christ's militant church in greater measure than they did or could do in all the ten persecutions under the heathen emperors, or in all the oppositions which they have raised by the Jew, the Turk, or Saracen.

912 §. 4. By this interpretation of that place every pope hath as full authority over princes and secular powers as St. Peter himself had. And it is well that they plead for no more. And that they plead for no more it is evident, because pope Gregory the Seventh begins his process against Henry the Fourth, emperor, with this solemn prayer unto St. Peter: "Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, we beseech thee to incline thy pious ears unto us, and to hear me thy servant, whom from my infancy thou hast nourished, and unto this day hast delivered from the hands of the wicked, who have hated and do hate me for my fidelity towards thee. Thou art my witness, as is also my lady the mother of God, and blessed Paul thy brother amongst all the saints, that thy holy Roman church drew me against my will to her government, &c. Therefore building upon this confidence for the honour and defence of the

church, in the behalf of the omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by thy power and authority I do take from king Henry the son of Henry the emperor, (who by an unwonted pride never heard of hath made insurrection against thy church,) the government of the whole kingdom of the Almains and of Italy, and do absolve all Christians from the bond of oath which they have made or shall make unto him, and I do forbid any to serve him as king[d]." Did St. Peter get this power and authority, by virtue whereof the pope (as you hear) deposeth the emperor, after his death? or if any such power he had whilst he was prince of the church militant, why did he not practise it when greater insurrection was made against his person, and against the church, than Henry the emperor did make against pope Gregory, or the church of Rome? Their usual answer to this query is, that St. Peter wanted that secular power wherewith the pope at this time was armed. Yet if St. Peter were then the virtual church, the saying he wanted power, or means to practise his lawful authority, is in effect as much (by their doctrine) as to deny God's providence. For whereas some late writers, who would be reputed Roman catholics, have, in defence of the oath of allegiance, taught, "that after the church had threatened God's judgments, used her spiritual arms and weapons, she hath no more to do, having no temporal arms to use, but must commit all to God. But then, say I," (they are the words of the author of the Prelate and Prince,) "that Christ, who was incarnate, and lived and died for the church, had not sufficiently provided for her defence[e]." And he concludes, "that Withrington and

[d] Prelate and Prince, cap. 11. sect. 9. pp. 240, 241. and pp. 176. 179.

[e] Ibid. cap. 9. sect. 9. pp. 214, 215, 216, 218.

others, who deny the church all power to defend herself, are unnatural children, yea merciless and cruel enemies, in remitting her to God only, who, though he always hear our prayers and petitions, yet doth not always grant them." But what if God doth not always grant their prayers? then they must seek remedy from the pope. He by his plenary power must do them right in those cases wherein God is not willing to do them any, at least until the day of judgment, which is too long for them to expect. A present remedy must be had, though God be unwilling to grant it. It is, by the way, a point worth noting, that they will not be content with such a remedy as may be had by virtue of prayers, seeing it is not certain that God will grant them what they pray for. "Wherefore we must," saith this author, "find out a sword, and an ordinary second cause, which may in this case defend the church; and this is no other than her spiritual power, by which she can dispose of temporal goods or kingdoms for the necessary conservation of the spiritual good[f]." But if this sword were a remedy granted or approved by God, or if God without this remedy
913 had not (as this man and most of his fellows conclude) sufficiently provided for the defence of his church, then either St. Peter was provided of this remedy for the church's defence which lived under him, or else St. Peter and that church was not a church of the same metal and spirit that the modern Romish church is of, or else Christ had not sufficiently provided for the church's defence in that age: however, admitting St. Peter had no power to right himself for wrongs done unto his person or his flock, no such opportunity as the popes in late years have had to depose kings, or to dispose of temporal goods and kingdoms, for the

[f] Prelate and Prince, ibid.

necessary conservation of the spiritual good; yet if this doctrine had then been a doctrine of faith, as now it is made, or any true branch of Christ's promise unto Peter, St. Peter certainly had been inexcusably faulty, and foully to blame, in not pleading his right, or the right of his successors. He should in reason and conscience have put that interpretation of our Saviour's words which the Romish church now makes of them, as far as it would go, and made protestation on the behalf of his successors with a *valeat quantum valere potest.* The apostles and true disciples of Christ, St. Peter and Paul especially, (whatever were likely to befall their bodies,) were never afraid or ashamed publicly to avouch and maintain by speech and pen any article of Christian faith, any doctrine of Christ, whereof there was either present use, or whose knowledge was necessary for posterity. Now there is no doctrine either of more necessary or more general use than this doctrine of Peter's successors' power over the whole church, if it were from God or from Christ. Not to have given the Christian world notice of such a transcendent article of faith as the Romish church now extracts out of our Saviour's words to Peter, had been a sin of omission in Peter equal to his sin of commission in denying Christ. Either the modern Romish church's interpretation of that place is blasphemous and traitorous, or Peter's concealment of it was sacrilegious.

To discover or lay open their tenets in this point, and their necessary consequences, with the weak grounds whereon both root and branch are only planted, is the best way in the world to refute them. The bare and naked sight of their weak disjointed consequences is to every man (whose eyes the god of this world hath not blinded) so ridiculous, and the

consequent practices of their suppositions so loathsome to any man's conscience that is not cauterized, that nothing can be added, by the wit or artificial invention of man, to make the one appear more foolish, or the other more detestable. Their speculations in this point (as a learned doctor once censured their religion in general) are the very froth of foolery, and their practice no better than the dregs of villany; neither do they expect any greater advantage, than to make other exceptions against them besides those which the nakedness of their cause being laid open doth upon the first sight administer. But albeit they dread and fear our sword hand, yet their hope is, our buckler hand, for defence of our own cause, will not be so strong; and upon this hope they will be ready thus to reencounter us.

§. 6. If the pope or visible church have not power to depose princes, then the secular or civil power coercive is at least equal to the power coercive ecclesiastic, or the power spiritual should not exceed the power temporal. To say the secular or civil power should not be subordinate to the ecclesiastical power, or that temporal power is not inferior to the spiritual, will be offensive and odious to most religious minds; and this is the chief advantage which (for aught I can observe)
914 they hope to gain of any reformed writer. But such an advantage as, by God's assistance, we shall never give them, being otherwise ready to grant them all they demand in their premises, and only put them to a strict proof of their inferences. The ecclesiastic coercive power (say they) is above the civil. This antecedent being granted, we demand how they can hence infer that the power papal is above the power royal, or that the church representative is above free states or kingdoms.

§. 7. That we may fully prevent them in the proof of this inference, and put by all their objections against us so clearly that they cannot so much as touch us, we must in the first place explain what we mean by power spiritual, what by power ecclesiastic coercive. The reference, dependence, or difference, between power spiritual and ecclesiastic coercive power, are the same as were between the moral and judicial law of God. For example; those precepts, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, *Thou shalt not steal*, were two branches of the moral law. And these did directly bind men's consciences, albeit no bodily or temporal punishment had been annexed. But that adultery should be punished with death, and theft with fourfold, and in some cases with fivefold restitution, in some cases with death, this was part of the judicial law. Power merely spiritual, or power spiritual as it is opposed to or abstracted from power ecclesiastic coercive, (which hath the same reference to power spiritual as the laws judicial have to laws merely moral,) consists especially in these three things: first, in the preaching of the gospel; secondly, in administration of the sacraments; thirdly, in the use of the keys, or in the authority of binding and loosing, or of excommunicating and absolving.

All these branches of this power the apostles exercised by authority immediately derived from Christ, as King and Priest; and from the apostles all the branches of the same power are immediately derived unto their successors the bishops and pastors of the church, without the interposition or intervention of any authority human or secular. Now if question be made, whether the spiritual power be above the power temporal, or power temporal above it, the answer must be, neither are above other, if we consider them as the one is seated in men endowed only with power spirit-

ual, and the other in men endowed only with power temporal. For thus considered, they are of divers kinds, and admit no comparison of superiority and inferiority, although, if we compare the kinds betwixt themselves, they may admit comparison of mutual excellency, and such comparison as may be made betwixt a magistrate of England and a prince or nobleman of some other country that sojourns amongst us, the one not subordinate to the other in matter of jurisdiction. But how excellent soever this spiritual power be in itself, the excellency of it doth not exempt the persons of men which are appointed to exercise it from obedience to temporal lords and princes, unto whom they are subject upon other respects, not by the exercise of it. St. Paul was a citizen of Rome, but no magistrate; though more than a citizen, a prime peer of the new Jerusalem which is from above, a great ambassador of the kingdom of heaven. To deny men on earth the rites or privileges of the new Jerusalem, he had as full power (upon just occasions) as any civil magistrate hath to debar men for misdemeanors from the privileges of the city or commonweal whereof they are members. But power St. Paul had none, by virtue of his authority in dispensing spiritual benefits, to take
915 any privilege or benefit from men which of right belonged unto them as they were citizens of Rome, or of any other temporal commonweal.

The fulness of power spiritual, as it was communicated to the apostles and their successors, did neither swallow up power temporal, nor abate it, much less overthrow it.

§. 8. But albeit the spiritual power were immediately from Christ, without dependence on power temporal, and the apostles in their times immediately directed by the Holy Ghost in the exercise of it, yet

after their deaths the exercise or practice of it was to be regulated by ecclesiastic laws or canons, either made by the apostles themselves, or devised by their successors. So we see there be in every commonweal certain rules of courts, or customary forms of proceeding, besides their fundamental written laws. Unto these rules civil obedience or observance is due; and so is ecclesiastic obedience likewise due unto ecclesiastic canons or customs, so they be not repugnant to the fundamental spiritual laws contained in the written word: and this obedience is to be performed, not so much for fear of punishment, as for conscience sake. All the penalties which the apostles themselves whilst they lived, or their successors in the primitive church, could by virtue of their power (which was then merely spiritual) inflict upon offenders, either against the fundamental written laws, or canons of the church, was to deprive them of communion with the congregation of Christians in sacred mysteries, or in shutting the kingdom of heaven against them. If any man, which had before professed Christianity, were in time of persecution disposed to return unto his old religion, as to Judaism, or heathenish idolatry, the apostles themselves might not put the party thus offending to death, or punish him with the loss of limbs, of temporal goods or possessions. Though to punish idolaters with death was not permitted only, but commanded by Moses' law, yet were not the apostles of Christ permitted to put the judicial law of Moses in execution upon the Gentiles, or to exercise such authority coercive upon the members of any commonweal or kingdom; for this belonged only to that authority coercive which the church at that time had not. Or if any man after his admission into the church should obstinately deny any article of Christian faith, or fall into

heresy, or commit blasphemy against God or Christ, it was not within the apostle's power or commission, much less in their successors, to put such a man to death, to banish or imprison him, no not to take any part of his goods or possessions from him. Yet is heresy a cause merely ecclesiastic, and the cognizance of it belongs to persons ecclesiastic only. Howbeit, to inflict any temporal punishment upon any heretic, be it banishment, death, imprisonment, or loss of secular honour, is an act of such power coercive as belongs unto the commonweal or kingdom whereof the party offending is a member. Such as are endued with power spiritual are not to meddle in the execution of such punishments, save only so far as they are authorized by the kingdom or commonweal, whereof they are members, to see such punishments put in execution. So that this power coercive, or authority to inflict temporal punishments on others offending against the laws of Christ or power spiritual, is not proper to the church, as it is a distinct body from the commonweal or kingdom, whereof the party offending is a member, although the body of the church, so distinct from the commonweal, do not consist of the clergy or ecclesiastic persons only, but of them and of the laity jointly.

916 §. 9. The church militant, for the most part of 300 years after Christ, was extraordinarily assisted by the Holy Ghost. The use of miracles was frequent in it; the spiritual power was then as full as now it is, and the exercise of it a great deal more free and usual. And albeit most members of the church then were members withal of some commonweal or kingdom, yet neither the whole body of the church, or entire multitude of Christian men, nor any whole visible church, had any coercive laws ecclesiastic authorizing them to inflict corporal punishments upon any member of the

commonweals or kingdoms wherein they lived, which were then altogether or for the most part heathenish. If ever there were a time wherein our adversaries' objections against us were in force, this time was during the first 300 years after Christ, in which as many as made profession of Christianity (whether they were clerics or laics, priest or people) were daily exposed to more grievous injuries and greater disgraces than they have been in any age since. What shall we say then? that the Christians of that age were more cowardly or dastardly than modern Roman catholics are? Nay, amongst all the brave resolutes of Rome heathen, though many of them were more prodigal of life in their hot blood, yet never any was so truly valorous in contemning death, in what shape soever it did present itself, or in the right valuation of bodily life, as the most abject Christians of that age generally were, and by real proof did so declare themselves to be. Shall we say then (as the author of the Prince and Prelate doth) that "then Christ, who was incarnate, who lived and died for his church, did not sufficiently provide for it in those times," because it had not that use and exercise of the spiritual sword which the Romish church, that is, the clergy of Rome, hath for these many years challenged and practised? This the Romanists must say, but at their peril. Certain it is, that the Christians in that age could not right themselves by deposing kings and princes or meaner lords that did molest them, or by bestowing kingdoms or principalities upon Christians, as well qualified otherwise for government as any Roman catholics now are. So that the main objection in this argument is altogether impertinent, and their doctrine injurious to Christ, to all kingdoms and commonweals Christian, who cannot be (unless it be by the instigation of the church of

Rome) so injurious to the church militant as the Roman empire or other heathen kingdoms were. Yet is it matter of injury only that can afford just cause of war betwixt nation and nation, whether Christian or heathen.

§. 10. During the time of the first 300 years after Christ we read that Christians did ordinarily serve in wars under the Roman emperors, and under other princes or states (whether subject to the Roman empire, or without the precincts of it). This questionless few or none of them would have done; at least for so doing they should have been condemned by the church, if it had been unlawful for Christian men to go to war either with the heathen or for the heathen. For most Christians, in that age, were readier to die than to do any thing which was contrary to the rules of Christianity, or to incur the just censure of the church, which we never read that any Christian did undergo for bearing arms under heathens. For inasmuch as the Christians which then were, were members of the commonweals wherein they lived, they knew it for a part of Christian obedience to suffer their bodies to be at the command or disposal of their
917 lawful governors. But it is a point worth your observation, that during the space of 300 years after Christ ye shall never read that the Christians, which were then many, did ever undertake any war, either offensive, to revenge themselves of such as wronged them, or defensive, only to repel wrongs offered them by heathen magistrates. Howbeit, to have taken arms only in their own defence had been far more warrantable by the laws of God, and by consent of all nations, than to make war against kings and princes, than to depose kings and princes (as the Romanists teach) which did injuriously molest them. It may seem strange, that they who were ready to adventure their

lives either in offensive or defensive wars, undertaken for the good of the heathen commonweals which did wrong their Christian brethren, would not adventure their lives in their own defence, to prevent the violence of their lawful magistrates, but were rather willing to lay down their bodies for the preservation of their souls, resolving rather to die like martyrs than like soldiers, while the controversy was betwixt them and their own citizens or magistrates. What then was the ground or reason of this resolution? Only this, that the church in these times (that is, the whole congregation of Christian men) was no complete commonweal, it was not endowed with such power temporal or coercive. Every Christian, in respect of such coercive laws, was subject to the commonweal wherein he lived. And to begin or undertake a just war, whether offensive or defensive, is proper only to a perfect community or commonweal, or unto a prince or king, and unto such only the power of making punitive coercive laws by right appertains. And such power the church for 300 years after Christ had none; howbeit all this time the exercise of the spiritual power was most entire; and exercised it was without partiality or respect of persons.

§. 11. Many Christians there were in those times which were men of place and note in the Roman empire, and who, by reason of their lands and patrimonies, were charged with annual offices in their courses, as men of means and revenues are with sheriffries in this land. If they undertook these offices which the commonweal or prince did put upon them, they could not choose but communicate with the heathen in some practices of idolatry. Yea, they were to exhibit plays and spectacles unto the people (which were idololatrical) at their own costs and charges. Some of these

Christians, unwilling to lose their lands or dignities, did for their years or turns undertake such offices as were thus charged; but as many as undertook them were excommunicated, or suspended from all communion with the church or congregation of Christians, until they had made satisfaction by public penance, which was then most solemn and severe. Many of them, after long testification of their sorrow for their offences, were not permitted to receive the sacrament, until death did summon them to depart out of this world. This spiritual power the church did daily practise; but to punish such Christians as did bear heathen offices of priesthood or the like with loss of lands or goods, or any way to disenable them for doing bodily service to the church or commonweal wherein they lived, the church (or whole congregation of Christians, as well laics as clerics) did not so much as attempt. Many good spiritual or ecclesiastic laws they had, but no such ecclesiastic laws coercive, no authority to make such laws, which cannot be made but by the authority and consent of the prince or commonweal.

§. 12. But after whole kingdoms and commonweals
918 were converted to Christianity, after kings and emperors held it their greatest dignity to be protectors and defenders of the Christian faith, it was as lawful and commendable for the church (whereof the commonweal or chief magistrates were now a part) to undertake any war, either offensive or defensive, as it was for any other empire or kingdom wherein no church was. As lawful to punish all Christians which offended against the laws of God or of Christianity with loss of goods, with death or exile, (according to the quality of the fact,) as it had been for any commonweal to inflict like punishments upon malefactors or transgressors of their laws. For the conversion of

commonweals or princes unto Christianity did take no authority from them which they had before, but did rather direct and strengthen them in the right use of all lawful authority. The church being now wedded unto the commonweal or kingdom, was endowed with the free use or exercise of coercive laws; and all those laws which properly belong to the government of the church, or unto men as they are Christians, not as they are mere civil members of the commonweal, we call *laws ecclesiastic.* And most fitting it was that all which profess the knowledge of Christ and of his gospel, all that receive the benefit of the word and sacraments, should by the force of laws punitive or coercive be compelled to as strict observance of Christ's commandments or laws spiritual, as they are unto the laws merely civil or made by heathens. Fitting again it was, and most necessary, that all laws temporal and merely civil (whether directive only or coercive, and penal) should be subordinate to laws Christian and ecclesiastic, whether directive or penal and coercive. The necessary consequence of which it is, that all power coercive merely civil must be subordinate to ecclesiastic coercive power. If this could content the advocates of the Romish church, there is no ingenuous Christian, whether of meaner or of higher rank, but might easily be persuaded to accord with them *in thesi,* or in the general. Where then lies the differences *in hypothesi* or in the particulars? In these points especially: first, the Romish church will have this power coercive ecclesiastic to be originally and entirely seated in the body or company of the clergy, as it is a body distinct from the laity or commonweal merely civil; secondly, they make the clergy to be a perfect commonweal ecclesiastic of itself; thirdly, they make the whole body of the clergy to be subject to the pope, as to their su-

preme monarch. And this is in effect (as you heard before) to make all the laity, prince and people, mere slaves or servants to the clergy, and then to turn the body of the clergy into a mere tyranny. The greatest prelates should by this means be more absolute vassals to the pope, than the Turkish bashaws are to their grand seignior.

§. 13. The true orthodoxal doctrine is, that this power ecclesiastic coercive is not monarchical in respect of all nations or kingdoms which profess Christianity, but every Christian free state or kingdom hath a supreme tribunal ecclesiastic within itself. Secondly, that this power coercive ecclesiastic, which hath its supreme tribunal under Christ in every Christian free state or kingdom, is originally seated (as in the fountain) in the supreme majesty of that free state or kingdom. As if the state or commonweal be an aristocracy, (that is, governed by peers, whether temporal or spiritual, or mixed,) the ecclesiastic power coercive is originally in those peers. If the free state be a democracy, or popular government, as Switzer-
919 land is, the ecclesiastic power coercive must be derived from the whole community, as from its fountain. If the state or commonweal be a kingdom or monarchy, the power coercive ecclesiastic must be derived from the king, as from its fountain. Or if the free state or commonweal admit a mixture of all the former three sorts of government, (as the state of Germany seems to do,) the power ecclesiastic coercive must be derived from prince, peers, and people.

§. 14. From this distinction of commonweals, it cannot be interpreted as injurious to any sort of them to say the ecclesiastic authority is in all of them above the civil, seeing we say withal that the ecclesiastic coercive as well as the civil is seated in the supreme

majesty or magistrate of every free state. Nor shall we any way prejudice our sovereign lord in saying the ecclesiastic authority of this land is above the temporal, seeing we do not acknowledge any authority upon earth to be supreme or equal unto his within this land, but only affirm that his ecclesiastic power is above his temporal; that he is bound by the law of God, and by his allegiance unto Christ, so to make and moderate his temporal laws, that they no ways contradict or cross God's laws, or any such ecclesiastic laws as have been made for the maintenance or propagation of the holy catholic apostolic faith or religion. Against this resolution I hope no good protestant hath aught to say. And all that the oppugners of kings' supremacies in causes ecclesiastic have to say against it to any purpose is but this, that kings sometimes for want of years, sometimes for want of judgment, experience, or capacity, are unfit to judge of laws ecclesiastic, unable to determine controversies in divinity. But this exception will infer *aut nihil aut nimium*, either nothing at all against us, or a great deal more than they are willing to acknowledge. For kings and princes, of what religion soever, are ofttimes as unexperienced in, as unable to judge of temporal laws, or to determine all controversies or suits arising in their kingdoms between subject and subject concerning titles of inheritance, or other matters of right or wrong, as they are to judge of ecclesiastic controversies, which are not, which would not be (so these men would give royal authority leave to interpose) so many by an hundredfold in any kingdom as controversies temporal are, and will be without help or remedy, although the pope would lend his helping hand to princes, either to prevent their occasions, or to decide them being occasioned. The ordinary judges of this

land do further exceed most princes for skill in their own faculty, (be it the civil, the common, or the canon law,) than the pope doth them for his skill in divinity. Yet no writer in the Romish church (to my remembrance) doth hold it necessary or expedient, much less a point of faith, that the most learned judges in the land should be supreme magistrates or kings in trial of titles of inheritance; or that the learnedest civilian in the kingdom should be high admiral of England, much less the monarch of the English seas. But, on the contrary, all of them acknowledge kings (especially kings by descent or inheritance, who ofttimes come to their crowns in their nonages) to be supreme governors in all causes merely temporal. For to be supreme governors, whether in causes temporal or ecclesiastic, or in both, doth not necessarily suppose or require more skill in deciding controversies, or in making laws of either kind, than may ordinarily be found in many which live under their government. Nor doth the church of Rome always make either the best scho-
920 lars or best experienced canonists or civilians in Christendom popes. Wherein then consists the king's supremacy in all causes and over all persons, or the right exercise of it? It consists especially, first, in employing such as are men of known skill in every faculty, and men withal of sincerity and courage, either in making of laws, or for repairing the defect of laws, whether temporal or ecclesiastic; or, secondly, in ratifying the laws so made by his royal assent; or, lastly, in compelling judges and governors in their several places to put the laws so made and ratified in execution, under penalty by the laws inflicted for their negligence or unsincerity, or under penalties reserved to himself, or upon penalty of his displeasure. Briefly, when we acknowledge the king to be "supreme go-

vernor in all causes and over all persons," our meaning is, that the exercise of the king's coercive power extends as well to causes and persons ecclesiastic (whether inferiors or superiors) within his dominions, as unto causes and persons temporal. If any governor of either rank (ecclesiastic or temporal) chance to fail in the execution of his office, it is in the power of the king (according to the quality of his offence) either to put another in his place, or to appoint him a coadjutor, overseer, or assistant. All this, and whatsoever else belongs to the peace and happiness of the church and commonweal, any ordinary prince may more exquisitely perform within his own dominions, than the wisest pope that ever sat in Peter's chair could or can perform the like unto all the kingdoms and churches over the face of the whole earth.

CHAP. III.

About the title of "supreme head over the church," given to king Henry the Eighth by the parliament of England.

§. 1. The sum of our former discussions was, that the subordination of civil power to the power ecclesiastic coercive, can no way infer the power papal to have any superiority of jurisdiction over the royal power of this kingdom, or other free states or kingdoms to be (in case of heresy or the like) at the disposal of the pope or the church representative. The ground or root of this conclusion is not denied by our adversaries themselves; for they grant, that not only the powers civil and ecclesiastic, but power (withal) merely spiritual, were all united in one person, under the law of nature, or before God gave his law to Moses[g]. Then one and the same man was both king and priest, as

[g] See the author of the Prelate and Prince, p. 116, 117.

Melchisedec was. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were lords temporal and spiritual over their own families. And we further say, that the same subordination both of all persons civil and ecclesiastic to one head or governor, or at least to the supreme magistrate to the state, (which we at this day practise,) was continued in God's people, under Moses's government, under Joshua, under the judges of Israel, and under the kings of Judah. This will more plainly appear in our answer to the particular instances pretended by our adversaries, for the church's authority in deposing princes.

§. 2. That wherewith they seem to be most offended, is, that the title of "supreme head over the church" is given by our high court of parliament to king Henry the Eighth; and with this title not only the Romish clergy of that time, but Calvin himself was much
921 offended. But to this we answer, first, so we could agree upon the matter, we are not forward to contend with them or others about names or titles, in framing of which we do not acknowledge either our church or parliament to be infallible. Neither was this title decreed by parliament as necessary to be continued for all posterity. Queen Elizabeth was better content with the title of "supreme governor;" and this title most of our divines at this day use. Secondly, we say, that as many other things, so this title, of being head of the church, may be far worse taken by captious interpreters, than it was intended or meant by them which at first did use it. If any fault there were in assigning this title to king Henry the Eighth, it was in the popes which before him had assumed it, or in those of the Romish religion in other points which gave it to that king. The parliament intended no more in putting this title upon king Henry the Eighth,

than to restore that dignity to the crown and sceptre of this land, which the church of Rome, by forgery or falsifications of these and the like scriptures, ***Tu es Petrus—Petre pasce oves,*** had flatly cozened this and other kingdoms of. And no great harm there was in giving a title unto king Henry the Eighth, a little too big, only to the end that he might keep the pope from continuing his usurped authority over the church and state of England, which then was a great deal too much, and more than was fitting for any mortal man to have.

§. 3. That we may more clearly perceive in what sense our foreelders might give this title of "supreme head over the church" unto our kings, and in what sense we are to disclaim or relinquish it, we are first to explicate, of what church our kings may be said to be the head; secondly, in what respects they may be called *heads*, or wherein their headship consists. The church is properly taken for "a congregation of men united by profession of the same common faith, and by the sacraments." Again, the church may be taken either for the universal congregation of men thus united, (and the church taken in this extent hath no one head visible, no one head visible or invisible besides our Lord Christ,) or it may be taken for the congregation of Christian men within one dominion, state, or kingdom; and further than this our foreelders did not extend the title of headship unto king Henry the Eighth. No man ever instyled him head of the church militant, but head, meaning visible head, of the church only within his realms and dominions. Lastly, the church may be taken for the company of men united not by profession only of the same common faith, but by the bond of true and lively faith, or by the spirit of sanctification; and in this sense, or in respect of this

bond, our foreelders did not acknowledge king Henry the Eighth to be head of the English church. Now to be head of the whole congregation of men within his dominions, united by profession of the same faith, is a title not proper, but metaphorical, viz. borrowed from the similitude which the king or supreme magistrate in any state or kingdom hath with the properties or offices of the head of any natural body. And this similitude consists especially in these two particulars:

§. 4. First, as the head is the highest part of the human body, so is the chief magistrate of every nation the highest and most supereminent in dignity. Specially kings, being the highest magistrates under heaven, may be truly instyled heads, not of their kingdoms or commonweals only, but of the whole visible congregation of Christian men within their kingdoms.
922 For Christians they were, yea good Christians, for the most part, not mere moral or civil men, to whom St. Peter says, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him*[h]. The second prerogative which the head of every natural body hath in respect of other members is this, that all motion is derived from it; or that it is the immediate fountain of all progress, motion, or activity. And in respect of this prerogative, authority royal or supreme in every nation is in part like, in part unlike unto the head of a natural body. The power by which the church (however taken) is directed or governed answers in proportion to the motive faculties of the body. Now the motive faculties or powers by which the church is governed are two: first, the motions of grace, or power internally spiritual; and to derive these motions from the king or supreme magistrate, as

[h] 1 Pet. ii. 13.

from their fountain, or to say the king is in respect of these motions, or in respect of the food of life by which they are bred, by which the power of the Spirit is nourished, is head of the church, were blasphemy. But a blasphemy it is of no less height, and for extent a great deal more ample, to say the pope is head of the universal church militant according to this propriety of headship. And for this reason we deny the pope to be the rock on which the church is built, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. For this were to derive the gifts of the Spirit, by which only the gates of hell can be withstood, from him, as from their head or fountain. Secondly, the power or motive faculty by which the church militant or visible in any kingdom is guided, is the law ecclesiastic coercive. Not only the exercise of such laws, but the power to make them, so as to diffuse the virtue or force of them throughout the whole body of the church visible within any realm or kingdom, is derived from the king, or supreme magistrate, as from their head or fountain. Now all those laws which concern not matters temporal, but spiritual, are often called *laws spiritual;* and so is the power by which they are made or practised called *spiritual power*, not in respect of the fountain whence they are derived, but in respect of their proper end, which is the edification of the spiritual temple of God. So the clergy is generally called *the spirituality*, not so much in respect of internal qualifications of their persons, which are ofttimes as carnal as the laity, but in respect of the end of their function, which is to make others as well as themselves truly spiritual. But besides the internal graces of the Spirit, and the exercise of the ecclesiastic power coercive, for the better planting of grace in men's hearts, there is a power merely spiritual, (as you heard be-

fore,) which consists especially in the administration of the sacraments, and in the right use of the keys. The exercise of all these functions is presupposed to the being of a church visible, and is *de jure divino*, authorized by God's own laws. And for this reason to derive the power of administering the sacraments, of ordaining ministers, of excommunication or absolution, from kings, or from any besides Christ, were to derogate from his authority.

§. 5. From this distinction of properties in the head, and from explication of what power it is which we derive from the king or supreme majesty of every state, as from his proper fountain, we may easily put by a frivolous objection of our adversaries; to wit, if the king be supreme head or governor of the church, then he may minister sacraments or ordain bishops, decide controversies of faith, excommunicate and absolve, and finally exercise all the branches of spiritual
923 authority. But this or the like inference is no better than this following: The king is supreme head of the merchants, of the stationers, of all the several companies in this kingdom; *ergo*, he must practise merchandise, he must have skill in printing, in making apparel, and in all other several mysteries or professions. If it be replied, that kings may practise in all these kinds if they please, so we say they may administer sacraments, ordain ministers, and give their votes or *placets* in deciding controversies of religion, so they would be pleased to become priests or bishops. For it is to be presumed that no kings will practise in any profession, or authorize others to practise in them, but by first making him or them free of the same company. And any man being once made free of any mystery may lawfully do all things that properly belong to that mystery or faculty; and so may kings, or

supreme magistrates by inheritance, perform all the offices of priests or bishops, so they would be pleased to be lawfully consecrated to these sacred functions: and as by such consecration they shall lose no authority which before they had, so neither should they gain any new supremacy which they had not. A king that would be pleased to be made bishop, should not thereby become head of the church in any other sort than by his kingly office he already is: for that there is any head of the church besides Christ, from whom, as from the fountain, the power of administering the sacraments, of excommunicating or absolving, is derived, this is that which we deny; and further affirm, that to make any mortal man head of the church in this sense, is to make him or to acknowledge him to be Antichrist. How then is the power of consecrating bishops, or power episcopal in succeeding bishops, derived from power episcopal in their predecessors? Not as from a fountain. Succession itself in power episcopal is but as a continuation of the same stream or current, which hath no other fountain or feeder besides one, *from whose fulness we all receive, and grace for grace.* He that consecrates another hath no power or superiority over him by title of consecration; otherwise bishops should have authority over archbishops, so should cardinals be above the pope; much less can the power of consecration or administration of the sacraments give any supremacy or headship to kings or princes over the church which before they had not; and if it can give them none, then they may be supreme heads or governors of the church, as well without the power of consecration, or administration of sacraments, as with it.

§. 6. But how do we say that the king is supreme governor "in all causes," unless we acknowledge him

to be supreme governor in causes merely spiritual? Even in these he is supreme governor, as well as in causes civil or ecclesiastic only; but not governor over them, as he is over all persons ecclesiastic, civil, or of what rank soever besides, if any other there be besides, either single or mixed. When we acknowledge him supreme governor in all causes, we do not acknowledge it to be in his power to change or alter any thing that is instituted by Christ; as, either to assign the power of ordination to such as are not bishops, or to authorize any to administer the sacraments which are not lawfully ordained presbyters, or to dispense with the manner of administering sacraments, as the pope hath done. To do any of these we deny to be in the power of any man, or congregation of men; and we affirm, that to grant this to the king, was to make him such an head in all causes as no mortal man lawfully can be. But how (for instance) do we make him supreme
924 governor in causes merely spiritual? Whether the sacrament of Christ's body and blood be to be administered to the laity in both kinds, is a cause or controversy merely spiritual; and in every state or kingdom wherein this point is controversed, the supreme magistrate or prince of that state hath full power and authority, immediately derived from Christ, to call a council, synod, or convocation of bishops and other clergy, throughly to discuss and examine whether the ministration of the sacrament under one kind be not repugnant to the institution of Christ; and upon declaration or decision made by the clergy, to compel every bishop and priest to administer the sacrament, and every layman to receive it in both kinds, under penalty of exile, of imprisonment, or other punishment ratified by his royal assent. The truth of the doctrine being resolved upon by the synod

or convocation, and the contrary error being detected for heresy, he hath a coercive power over every bishop, to cause him convent and censure every delinquent against the law or canon that shall be subject to his jurisdiction.

§. 7. Again, if after this controversy (concerning the administration in both kinds) were decided by a national council of this kingdom, any subject should presume to plead that the visible Romish church had practised the contrary for divers hundreds of years, and taught the practice to be lawful; and that it were no heresy to believe the administration of the sacrament in one kind were lawful, because the Romish church, which so believed and practised, cannot err; it is in the power of the king or supreme magistrate to call a synod or council for examining and determining this point, whether the pretended infallibility of the present Romish church be not a grosser error than the former, or more than an heresy, even a transcendent blasphemy; and this point being clearly determined (as it easily might be) by plain demonstrative and evident deductions out of scripture and out of the fundamental principles of catholic faith, for a transcendent heresy or blasphemy; it is in the power of the king, or supreme magistrate in any commonweal, to punish every person, whether of the laity or of the clergy, that should appeal from the determination of a national synod to the pope of Rome, either concerning the former controversies about the administration of the holy sacrament in both kinds, or about the pope's power to depose kings, as an heretic or traitor; and to punish such as maintain the absolute infallibility of the pope with the heaviest punishment that either the laws of God or of any Christian nation have inflicted upon the like offences.

The case concerning the supreme magistrate's coercive power in the forementioned or other like causes spiritual, is the very same with other causes of temporal consequence, as, for deciding matters of controversy between subject and subject, between landlord and tenants, between oppressors and the oppressed; in all which, it is neither necessary nor expedient that the king or supreme magistrate should personally meddle, or sit as judge, but only to authorize and compel them to whom the cognizance and examination of such causes properly belongs, to punish delinquents, and settle peace throughout his dominions.

§. 8. Again, it will be objected, that kings and princes, by the confession of the learned in the reformed churches, may be excommunicated themselves; and if they may be excommunicated, and cannot personally exercise the censure of excommunication upon others,
925 how can they be accounted heads or supreme governors of the church? This indeed is the prerogative which the pope doth challenge by virtue of his universal headship, and wherein one of the popes Urbanes did congratulate his own advancement to the popedom, as being thereby enabled to excommunicate others, himself being not liable to excommunication: but this they take as granted, being not able to prove it: and whatsoever reasons they can bring why the pope may not be excommunicated by the clergy of Italy, or by a general council, we shall use the benefit of the same reasons to prove that kings or supreme magistrates in free states cannot be excommunicated. But the objection continues: some protestants grant that even kings themselves are not exempted from all censure of excommunication: and some others deny it, holding, that as king David was free from the punishment by God's law appointed for blood deliberately shed, be-

cause he had no superior on earth to judge or condemn him; so the king, having no superior legally to convent him in open court, is free from the great solemn excommunication. And it hath been publicly maintained in disputation in one of the universities of this land, that the supreme majesty is not excommunicable; yet the former objection being given, (not granted,) will only infer, that the exercise of the power merely spiritual, which is immediately derived from Christ, is not subordinate to power royal or monarchical *de jure*, it will never infer that the royal power or supreme majesty of any commonweal or kingdom is subject to tribunals merely ecclesiastic, which have no coercive power formally to convent a king or supreme magistrate, or to excommunicate a perfect community or whole commonweal. By what authority then did St. Ambrose excommunicate the good emperor Theodosius, or in what manner was he excommunicated? Not by legal convention or conviction of him in the open court ecclesiastical: but the emperor's fact being notorious, not only presented to the good bishop by public fame, (and clamorous insinuation of much blood illegally shed by the emperor's command, without a lawful conviction of the delinquents,) but most certainly known, upon diligent inquiry and true information; the holy bishop, as it well became him, out of a most tender care of the emperor's salvation, (with some regard also to Christian discipline,) did persuade and convince him, that till his hands were washed from blood, his prayers would be turned into sin; that to eat the bread and drink the cup of the Lord, before he had truly repented, would make him guilty also of *the body and blood of the Lord:* and so by force of argument, which Theodosius could not resist, (not of arms or coercive power, which he might easily have

resisted,) did persuade the emperor to delay his entrance into the house of prayer, and to forbear communicating in the holy sacrament, until he had testified his repentance for that deed.

And in this the good bishop did no otherwise deny him than a good physician or servant to the emperor were bound in conscience to have denied him, if being in an high fever he had desired some such food or wine as in all probability would have been present death—at this time his certain poison—but delayed, till his stomach and temper were fitted to receive them, would be his comfortable nutriment.

After this manner St. Chrysostom, (who lived some while after St. Ambrose,) in his 83rd homily upon St. Matthew, professeth that he would rather give his own life and blood, than deliver the blood of Christ to any whose unworthiness to receive was notoriously
926 manifest. And he charges others, whose office it is to administer that holy sacrament, to be mightily careful of giving it to any person, of what rank soever, whose unfitness to partake of that dreadful mystery was sufficiently manifested to them; for (says he) God will require that person's blood at the hands of him that administereth it to him.

For though priests and deacons have no power or authority over kings, yet have they power over themselves, not to yield themselves treacherous ministers of condemnation unto kings, not to profane their office or the sacred mysteries committed to their trust, by communicating them unto those who have openly and scandalously transgressed the laws of God, and have not repented of their sin.

The like power every good Christian hath over himself. A power not to be a minister or instrument of greatest kings, in any known iniquity, or practice

forbidden by the law of God. But this power which men have over themselves, in not obeying superiors in things unlawful, doth not argue that they have power over kings, but only that kings, in some cases, have not power over them: that in some cases, they may lawfully not obey kings, or refuse to do that which by them they are commanded to do.

It is a vain argument then which our adversaries use, that kings are inferiors to the pastors of the church, because they may, by the pastors of the church, as they say, be excommunicated; as we say, in some special case, *non-communicated;* that is, when to communicate to them the holy mysteries, the blessed means of salvation, would bring them in danger of condemnation. Kings may be inferior to the church *quoad causam*, in that particular cause for which they are delayed, or for a time dissuaded from receiving; that is, only so long as it would be dangerous and destructive for them to receive. As the king is *inferior causa* to every subject that obtains any plea or sentence of right, in matter of money, lands, or possession against him, yet will it not hence follow that either the subject or the judge that determineth for the subject against the king in any temporal court, is the king's superior: but these two consequences do plainly follow; that the king is a moderate prince, not making his own will the law of justice, but preferring the subject's right before his own profit; and that the subject's cause or title was in right or law superior or better than the king's cause in this particular. And so no doubt was Christ's cause, or the church's cause, much better than Theodosius the emperor's cause, (in the former case,) that deserved exclusion from sacred rites and assemblies; yet this no way infers that Theodosius's imperial right or person was inferior to St. Ambrose.

§. 9. Another general objection yet remains, which is rather a recrimination, than any positive proof for them, or argument against us. The question (say they) between the protestants and the Romish church is not so much, whether the pope can depose princes, as whether the pope or their ministers can depose them; and they instance in divers writers of reformed churches, which teach that kings and princes may be deposed. If some which call themselves protestants, and which rely as strongly upon the infallibility of their own private spirits, as the Roman catholics do upon the infallibility of the pope or Romish church, do agree with the Jesuits in doctrine and practice, it is not strange. A wonder it were they should not join in the issue, how far soever they start asunder in their first principles.

But this absolute infallibility of the spirit without
927 evidence of reason, or undoubted experiment to assure the meaning of it, we condemn as much in the enthusiast as in the Romanist; both of them are enemies to our church's peace, and better friends one to the other than either of them are to us. But many besides the separatist or enthusiast, many of note in some reformed churches, have published in writing that kings and princes may in some cases be deposed. If this they speak universally, their doctrine is false and dangerous, and for such condemned by our church: if thus they taught indefinitely only, as that *some* kings, *some* princes or chief magistrates may be deposed, I know no church that justly can condemn them: for all kings and princes are not so absolute monarchs as the kings of England and some others are. Now as it is a great wrong to some Christian kings, to say they may be deposed; so it may be a manifest wrong to divers Christian states, to teach that no prince or chief ruler

may be deposed. To maintain the duke of Venice may in no case be deposed, would be a point of as high treason in the state of Venice, as it could be in any Christian kingdom to say the king or monarch of it might in some cases be deposed. But for divines to determine or dispute what princes in particular may be deposed, or in what cases, is a matter without their commission, unless it shall please free states or princes unto whom they are subject to employ them in such businesses, for resolution of private consciences without disturbance of public peace. Have then reformed churches, or any ministers in reformed churches, erred so grossly or so dangerously as the Romish clergy in this point generally doth? This the greatest enemies of some reformed foreign churches cannot pretend; or if pretend it they may, out of malice and ignorance, yet to cast any colour of reason upon it they cannot; for no reformed church or writers, otherwise generally approved, did ever affirm that it is in the power of the church representative, or clergy of any kingdom or commonweal, to depose such princes or temporal magistrates as in some cases may be deposed. This is the peculiar heresy of the modern Romish church; and the extent of this heresy is, that not only some kings or princes, but even the greatest monarchs of the Christian world, may be deposed by the pope alone, either for heresy, or for rebellion against the clergy, or wrongs done unto the church, either against the persons of clergymen, or in diminishing their temporal maintenance or revenues. It is again an opinion maintained by most great doctors in the Romish church, that all kings and monarchs, whether Christians or not Christians, may be deposed by their subjects for intolerable tyranny, albeit the church or clergy be no party in such wrongs or tyrannical oppression. So then, for conclusion of

this point of recrimination against reformed churches; albeit we no way take upon us to excuse some writers in reformed churches of rebellious doctrine against kings or princes; yet herein they come far short of Romish priests or Jesuits, whose doctrine concerning the subordination of all civil power unto the ecclesiastic power, as it is seated in the clergy or church representative or virtual, is a transcendent rebellion, not only against all Christian kings and monarchs, but against all kingdoms or commonweals Christian. It is a rebellious doctrine against all these directly, and indirectly (or by way of necessary consequence) against all kingdoms or commonweals, Mahometan or heathenish.

§. 10. Unless they can prove, by better reasons than any they have yet brought, the pretended authority of the pope to be a point of faith, and the practice of it
928 to be commanded by God's law; the practices of the Romish church in latter ages, in compelling temporal lords to put to death or exile all whom she condemns for heretics, or in deposing temporal lords or princes, for not conforming themselves to her rites or discipline, have been essential and proper exercises of antichristian pride or tyranny. No type doth better fit the substance which it represents, than the bloody persecutions of Antiochus against the Jews (then God's only people) doth the bloody tyranny which the Romish church did practise upon the Albigenses, or others that did question or contradict her authority, either in general or in those particulars which she obtruded upon them as points of faith; not only without all warrant from, but contrary to the word of God. And because her practices, in compelling princes and temporal lords to be her butchers and executioners in shedding innocent blood, are so odious, and apparently antichristian in

themselves, hence it is that priests and Jesuits strain their wits so much to cast a colour of truth upon their doctrine, and to qualify the loathsomeness of their practices by some examples in sacred story, wherein (as they pretend) the high priests have deposed kings. The special instance which they bring for this purpose is that of Uzziah king of Judah, who (as they allege) was deposed by Azariah the high priest for entering into the sanctuary of the Lord, to burn incense: but, as our divines very well observe, Uzziah was not deposed at all, much less was he deposed by the priest; if it had pleased God to have removed the leprosy, wherewith he was smitten, from him, his right to the administration of the kingdom had been as entire as it was before. No priest or prophet in Judah durst have adventured to hinder him from ascending into his throne, as they did from burning incense in the sanctuary: for the high priest himself had as little to do in the king's office, as the king had to do in his. Uzziah being smitten with leprosy was deprived (as we say) *ipso facto*, from actual administration of the kingdom, and of all civil commerce with men; all that the high priest had to do in this business was, at the most, to declare him to be a leper; for the judgment of leprosy belonged unto the priest; but even in this part of his office the Lord himself doth in a manner prevent him; for the leprosy rising upon his forehead after a strange and unusual manner, did declare itself to all that looked upon him. And although it be said the chief priests and other priests thrust him out from the altar of incense, yet it is added withal that he *himself hasted also to go out, because the Lord had smitten him*[i]. Josephus, in the 9th book of Jewish Antiquities, ch. 11,

[i] 2 Chron. xxvi. 19, 20.

sets down the story at large, but mentions not any act of violence done to the king, yet had Azariah eighty priests with him at that time. He tells a sad story of a frightful accident which might make all, both king, priest, and people, run with speed and in confusion out of the temple, and so thrust the king out. At the very time when the king was burning incense, God sent an earthquake, which moved *per quatuor stadia* half a mountain into a public way, and the king's gardens, and made a chaun or rift in the roof of the temple; at which rift the beams of the sun darted in upon the face of the king, on which if it did not raise, yet it did discover the leprosy. This earthquake is mentioned, Amos i. 1, and Zach. xiv. 5. So then Uzziah was cut off from the house of the Lord all the days of his life, but not cut off by the priest, but by the hand of the Lord, which had smitten him with perpetual leprosy; and being so smitten he was cut off from exercise of his royal power, yet not from his royal
929 right, for Jothan his son reigned four years, not in his own personal right, but in the right of Uzziah his father, as is well observed by the judicious and learned doctor Field; unto whose answers to all the rest of the examples which they bring for churchmen's deposing princes, nothing need to be added, until the adversary bring other exceptions against them than hitherto have been brought.

§. 11. It will be worth your labour, when you read their writings, to observe how they are still enforced to support this their rebellious and traitorous doctrine against kings with blasphemy against Christ. The author of the right of the Prelate and Prince, with others his fellows, being conscious that this example of Uzziah and Azariah the priest will not stretch far enough to reach the point in question, in any in-

different man's sight or judgment, they labour to lengthen it with this weak and rotten supposition: if it were lawful for the high priest of the law thus to withstand a king of Judah, (if not to depose him,) much more lawful it is for the high priest of the gospel to exercise the like authority or jurisdiction more severe upon Christian kings, especially in case of heresy, which is worse than leprosy, being the leprosy of the soul. If God Almighty would write heresy in as plain letters in princes' foreheads, as he did leprosy in king Uzziah's, the judgment or declaration of them to be heretics would be more easy. But so besotted or blinded in judgment these men are, who take upon them to judge of heresies, and to depose princes whom they have judged heretics, that they are not afraid to imagine, or ashamed to profess, that the high priest of the old law was but a type or shadow of the high priest of the new law, to wit, the pope. Now I would demand of any good Christian, of any indifferent man, Jew or Gentile, that knows the general tenets either of Christians concerning Christ Jesus, or of the Jews concerning their expected Messias, what greater affront could be offered unto Christ, as he is the high priest of our souls, than for any mortal man to challenge the title of that high priest in the gospel whereof the high priest in the law was but the type? What greater affront again could be offered unto Christ as king, than that the pope, by virtue of this pretended high priesthood, should usurp or challenge an universal superiority of jurisdiction, or of power coercive over kings and kingdoms? If this be granted, then he may be "Lord of lords, and King of kings, the only ruler of princes," and if these be titles which God hath given him, then doubtless he hath given to him *the utmost parts of the earth for his possession.*

§. 12. To prove this transcendent authority of the pope, and to exalt him far above all that is called God, his English factors are not ashamed to apply that prophecy, Isaiah xlix. 23, unto the visible church of Rome, as it is under the government of the pope: *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers.* But this may seem to argue kings and queens should have authority over the church, in that they are fathers and mothers of it; but therefore (say these ghostly fathers of modern Romish catholics) it is added in the words immediately following, *they* (to wit, kings and queens) *shall bow down to thee with their faces toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord: for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me.* To what end are these words added by the prophet? To express (say they) that great reverence and obeisance which even kings and queens owe unto the pope, who is the head and governor of the church here meant. A late Romish writer, to win the English thus to
930 adore the pope, as infinitely superior to their sovereign lord, would persuade them, by applying that prophecy, *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace*[k], to the ceremony of kissing the pope's feet and other homage, which (says he) no good Christian, though king or emperor, hath ever disdained; and that herein they follow the example of the three kings who adored Christ, and of the prime Christians who brought the price of their lands to the apostles' feet, and of Cornelius, who fell at Peter's feet[l].

§. 13. Hitherto I have acquainted you with the strength of our adversaries' objections against our church, and unfolded the brief or sum of the Romish church's doc-

[k] Isa. lii. 7. [l] Prince and Prelate, cap. v. sect. 14. p. 112.

trine concerning the civil and ecclesiastic power. Now of so bad a doctrine as that is, it will be very hard for us to make any good use or application. The best application that I can make of what in this point hath been said, is to beseech you seriously and heartily to consider, what a fearful scourge it would be to this land and people, if God in justice shall appoint these sons of pride and cruelty to handle or exercise the rod of his wrath which hath been a long time kindled against this land. Now albeit the sins of this land are many and grievous, and the least of them, through long continuance, doth more than deserve, even beg and solicit some fearful plague, yet is there no one sin that doth so probably threaten our plague and scourge by these sons of pride, as the extremity of opposition unto their doctrine concerning obedience to ecclesiastic power. They are altogether for absolute illimited obedience; and a great part of men (otherwise more zealous professors) in this land, are altogether for absolute liberty, or exemption from ecclesiastic censure or coercive authority. The ordinary course of God's punitive justice in cases extraordinary is *per legem talionis*, to punish every one in that kind wherein he hath offended; or to do to him as he hath done to others, or to the laws unto which he was subject. The proper and native award of this course of justice will be to punish the abuse of ingenuous liberty, or contempt of wholesome and moderate laws ecclesiastic, with imposition of laws tyrannical, and the exercise of ecclesiastic power illimited: which God of his mercy ever avert from this land and nation, for the merits and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour.

CHAP. IV.

The division of the text: a precept, and a reason. The universality of persons under the command. All clergy and laity. The quality of the duty subjection. Subjection differs from obedience. Subjection to higher powers must necessarily be yielded, even in cases where obedience is sinful. Whether human laws bind the conscience. A gross error discovered: viz. That we are not bound to obey the magistrate, save only in such things for which he can shew warrant out of Scripture.

§. 1. HAVING hitherto only squared my text, and dissolved the main knot concerning the distinction and subordination of power civil and ecclesiastic coercive, I may now proceed to the division of it; and it is easily divided into two parts: first, a precept, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers;* secondly, the ground or reason of this precept—*for there is no power but of God.* This is a spiritual truth, and would work upon the conscience of any man that truly loved
931 God. Yet to strengthen this part of the moral law with the law judicial or coercive, the apostle adds, *the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* The precept again divides itself into two considerations: first, the universality of the persons to whom it is directed, *Let every soul;* secondly, the quality of the duty enjoined or commanded, that is, *subjection.* To begin with the universality of the persons.

§. 2. Christians they were, and the best Roman catholics that ever were, which are here commanded *to be subject to higher powers.* And of these good Christians, and best Roman catholics, some were church-

men; all were not laics, otherwise there had been no church then in Rome. And yet none are exempted from this subjection, albeit *the higher powers* unto whom they are commanded to be subject were altogether heathenish: the Roman emperor was then an heathen, his deputies or vicegerents were heathen, yet unto both they were to submit themselves, as St. Peter infers: *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well*[m]. I ever took it for an argument beyond exception thus to infer—If the Christians of these primitive times, the best Christians and Roman catholics, better than the best that have been since, were subject to kings or higher powers heathen, much more ought Christians and catholics of later times to profess subjection unto kings or higher Christian powers. But now I perceive the former knot falls again within this division of my text: for thus the modern Roman catholic argues against the supremacy of Christian kings: kings before baptism have no supremacy in ecclesiastic causes; by baptism they get none: *ergo*, they are not supreme governors or higher powers at all in respect of causes or persons ecclesiastic. If we say that kings before baptism might be supreme heads or governors in causes ecclesiastic, or concerning the church, then heathen kings might be such governors. Now it were very harsh to say, and harder to prove, that heathen kings, which are no members of the church, should be heads or supreme governors of the church. That any heathen emperors were supreme heads and governors of the church, we do not affirm; but that they might have been supreme

[m] 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

governors of the church within their dominions, and heads of the church in a better sense than the pope now challengeth to be, no Roman catholic can disprove. As if it had pleased them to have permitted the Christian churches within their dominions not only the free exercise of power merely spiritual, but authorized them withal to have made ecclesiastic coercive laws, not to compel others to become Christians, but to keep such as willingly professed themselves so to be, within the pale or bounds of Christianity; they had been in part true governors or heads of the church, so far as they communicated this liberty of exercising spiritual power, or power of making laws coercive. Much better heads they had been than he now is, who taketh away all authority from the church of making laws, and only imposeth laws upon her of his own making.

§. 3. But to the latter part of their exception, that kings by baptism get no supremacy which before they had not. This they prove, because kings by baptism become sons of the church, and being sons, they are rather in subjection to their mother, than heads over
932 her. As many indeed as are baptized become sons of the church, but the question is, of what church, or of what persons in the church, if of any determinate persons they be sons. The church is called our mother in respect of life spiritual, after the same manner that our country is called our mother in respect of life natural. Now it is said, *Patria communis est parens;* "Our country is a common mother to all that are born in it," even to kings themselves; yet no man for this reason denies that kings are *patres patriæ*, and supreme governors over all persons within their dominions, that live in their times, yea, even over the mothers of their bodies. Kings Christian in like man-

ner may be sons of the church catholic or universal, or of *the Jerusalem which is above, which* (as our apostle saith, Gal. iv. 26) *is the mother of us all;* and yet withal be supreme lords and governors over all persons or members of the church, that sojourn within their dominions. It is a consequence impossible ever for our adversaries to prove, that Christian kings, in that they are sons of the church, their common mother, are therefore subjects or inferiors to the pope, or may in causes concerning the church be disinherited by him. If this doctrine concerning the pope's power to disinherit all such Christian kings as shall rebel against the church their mother, that is, the church of Rome, be now to be held a catholic doctrine, then without all question it was such, and so esteemed in the primitive church; for that only is catholic, which hath been true and orthodoxal in all ages, and which in all ages of the church might safely, and without scandal, be professed and taught. Now suppose the apostles had either taught the Roman emperors which lived in their times, or suppose the emperor Constantine, or some others that lived long after the apostles, had upon exact inquiry learned all the tenets of the Christian catholic faith, and amongst the rest have learned this to be one; that all kings and emperors before baptism were supreme governors over all persons within their dominions, but after baptism were to become subjects to the pope or church representative, which gave them Christendom; this had been doubtless a scandalous doctrine, and would have hindered kings and emperors either from being Christians themselves, or for suffering Christians to live in their dominions: yea, if this doctrine had been any native branch of Christianity, Christianity itself might justly have been condemned of high treason against the per-

sons of kings and emperors, or against the crowns and dignities of all sovereignties or free states: so might the professors of Christian religion, especially such as did minister the sacrament of baptism, have been condemned as plagiary traitors, that is, for robbing kings and emperors or sovereignties of their native subjects. For if kings and emperors themselves do by baptism become subjects to the bishop of Rome, or other pastors, much more shall their subjects become more than subjects, mere vassals to the church or pope, by receiving baptism from the church. Now no man can be a good subject unto two supreme lords, to the one as supreme in causes temporal, and to the other as supreme in causes spiritual. This were more impossible than for one man to serve two masters.

§. 4. Kings and supreme magistrates (say they) by being baptized, become sons of the church, *ergo*, they are in subjection to the church virtual or representative, that is, to the pope, or to a council. Betwixt this antecedent and the conclusion, these two points must be interposed, or else they will not hang together:
933 the first point, that some one or few men in the church (as either the pope alone, or with some few assistants) have the monopoly of baptizing by succession. The second, that he or they (from whom the now living prelates do derive their right unto this monopoly) did so contract with those kings or emperors which first submitted themselves to the gospel, that neither they nor any successors of theirs should enjoy the benefit of baptism upon any other terms or conditions, than subjection of their temporal swords unto the church's spiritual sword; than submission of their crowns and diadems to the pope's mitre; of their sceptres to his pastoral staff; and his pastoral staff should be to their sceptres as Aaron's rod was to the

rods of the enchanters. So much as they shall be able to prove of this latter, so much labour shall they save us in proving another point, wherewith divers of our writers have charged the pope; to wit, that he makes the same proffer of sale, and sets the same price upon the sacraments and other means conducent to the kingdom of heaven, as Satan did upon temporal kingdoms; yet not upon so fair or merchantlike terms as Satan used; for he said, *All these will I give unto thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.* The tenor of the pope's contract is this: 'None of all these will I give to any of you kings and princes of the earth, no baptism, no sacrament, unless you will fall down and worship me as your spiritual king and father.' If it be replied, that Christian kings are subject to the pope, or to the church virtual or representative, not upon any such contract or covenant implicit or express, but immediately by the benefit of baptism received from him, we must put them to a further question, whether the popes or other prelates (which make the church in their language) be baptized at all, or whether they do baptize themselves. If the popes be baptized, and be not baptized by themselves, they are in as much subjection to the church, or to those persons who baptize them, as any Christian kings by virtue of baptism can be. Every pope hath the church for his mother, or otherwise he cannot have God for his father; and if the church be his mother, he owes the same filial obedience to the church which he requires of other princes or prelates in the church's name.

§. 5. *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers.* Is this all one as if he had said, Let every soul be obedient to the higher powers? No, no! Albeit there can be no obedience without subjection, yet may there be subjection without obedience. Obedience and sub-

jection are not all one. Sometimes they are subordinate, sometimes coincident; opposite they never are. Subjection hath sometime more special reference to the body, or outward man: obedience includes these two parts in it: first, attentive audience to that which is commanded; secondly, a willingness upon such attention to do what is commanded. And in this latter consists the accomplishment of obedience; without doing (as much as in us lies) what is commanded us, without forbearing to do what is forbidden us, there is no obedience shewed to the power or party which commands or forbids. Yet ofttimes where obedience to human powers is dangerous, subjection is due, and cannot be denied without the just censure of disobedience.

§. 6. Annas the high priest and Caiaphas, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, commanded the apostles *not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus*[n]. But the apostles in this obeyed them not; but gave them this resolute answer, *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto*
934 *you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.* So far are they from doing what was commanded, which is the second part of obedience, that they refuse to hearken unto such a proposal; yet were they still subject unto their power whom they refused to obey; for they suffer themselves to be imprisoned by them without resistance[o]; and yet withal they obey the angel of the Lord, which opened the prison door by night, and commanded them to speak the words of life unto the people in the temple. After all this, being the second time convented without violence offered, they subject themselves unto their power, and do not

[n] Acts iv. 18–20. [o] Acts v. 18.

appeal unto the angel which had delivered them out of prison, or implore his aid to resist their power. Subject they were unto their power no less than they had been, and yet more resolutely resolved not to obey their injunctions than before. For unto this interrogation, *Did we not straitly command you that ye should not teach in this name? and, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us,* Peter and the other apostles return this joint answer, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* And a part of their obedience unto God was to preach Christ, even unto this council or church representative, ver. 29, &c. Yet with this flat denial of obedience to their injunctions, they do not deny or question subjection to their coercive power; nor do they repine at the exercise of it, or rail upon the actors. *When they had called the apostles, and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and* (following Gamaliel's counsel) *let them go. And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.* And yet for all this, retaining their obedience unto Christ as entire and untouched as their subjection was unto the council: for as it follows, verse 42, *daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.*

§. 7. What was the true reason of the apostle's cheerful subjection unto the council's power, and of their resolution not to obey their commands? The true rule and reason of the subjection of their bodies, without subjection of their consciences, was that commandment of our Saviour, *Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear*

him, which after he hath killed hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him[p]. And he whom all must fear most, all must obey, though in opposition to the express commands of any earthly power: yet inasmuch as God had given the high priest and council power over the apostles' bodies, they must be subject unto them, whom to resist had been to disobey God, yea, to resist his ordinance. But to have done that which the council commanded them to do, or to have left that undone which they forbad them to do, (whether out of their own persuasions, or for fear of bodily danger that might ensue upon disobedience to their positive injunctions or prohibitions) had been to have wounded their own consciences. It was then a resolution in these apostles commendable, and to all good Christians necessary, to use their bodies as bucklers for the defence of their souls and consciences. To have feared the blows or stripes of their adversaries more than neglect of their duty and obedience unto Christ, had been in effect to have laid their consciences open to the adversary. Every blow which upon these terms they had escaped, had given a more grievous wound to their consciences than the blows they received did to their bodies. The case then is clear, that there is a subjection of body due unto
935 those powers, unto which subjection or obedience of soul and conscience is not due, at least not due in those cases wherein subjection of the body is due. But albeit the conscience be not subject to laws human, whether civil or ecclesiastic, which are (as the injunctions of this council were) apparently repugnant to the laws of Christ; is it therefore universally true, that the conscience is not subject to any human laws? or that such laws do not at all bind the conscience? This is a main

p Luke xii. 4.

case of conscience, the full resolution or determination whereof is of as good and general use as the resolution of any other almost besides.

§. 8. Every binding includes a restraint of the part or party that is bound, and takes away some liberty which it had before: as a man whose hands are bound hath not that liberty which before he had, either to defend himself or offend his enemy. He whose feet are bound in chains, perhaps hath some liberty to walk, but none to run. He that is chained to a post, or to other fixed place, hath no liberty either to walk or run, further than the length of the chain will give him leave. The like restraint which chains or bonds do lay upon the body, any human law may lay upon any person that is subject to it. Lawful it is *de communi jure*, by the general law of nations, for any free merchant to traffick with foreign states, for any man to travel through his native country. Yet the lawgivers of every nation, or the supreme magistrate, who is by his place the moderator of laws made, may inhibit merchants to traffick with the enemy, and confine subjects to certain places within their realms. And this restraint of general liberty is a kind of civil binding; and he that will transgress the bounds or limits set him, is bound in conscience to submit his body and goods to the penalty under which he is bound not to transgress: and albeit the restraint may be tyrannical or unjust, yet the subjection of ourselves unto this human ordinance is just and necessary, so far as it concerns our bodily substance or outward man. But if any lawgiver or magistrate should command us, under pain of mortal sin or the like, not to think of those foreign countries or other places into which we may not transport our bodies, the law were void, and could hurt no man but those that made it;

for thought (as we say) is free, certainly free from all restraint of human laws or injunctions. No man is bound to think that every law is just for whose transgression he must yield his body, if it be demanded, without opposition of contrary force and resistance, albeit he hath bodily strength or power to resist the execution of it.

§. 9. Now if human power may bind the body, but leave the thoughts of man free, what bond can it lay upon the conscience? None directly! Are not human laws then (some at least) to be obeyed for conscience sake? This no good Christian will deny: and yet in granting this, that some human laws are to be obeyed for conscience sake, and in denying that any human law can bind the conscience, we necessarily acknowledge a mean between the obeying of human laws for conscience sake, and the bond of conscience, which no human law can lay upon us; and this mean we are to seek out by these rules following: first, whosoever doth in any sort disobey God's law, or any branch thereof, doth commit sin; for sin is the transgression of the law; and without disobedience to the law of God there is no sin. This rule no Christian denies. The second rule is, a man, especially a private man, by dis-
936 obeying some human laws, shall necessarily disobey the law of God, and by such disobedience necessarily commit sin; yet, such a sin of disobedience, as he should not, he could not commit without the interposition of some human law, albeit he did the selfsame fact which human law only doth in particular forbid. So that albeit the law of God be eternal, yet a man may disobey this law of God, and so sin this day, by doing the selfsame fact which to have done a year or some few days ago, had been no sin, no disobedience to God's law, it being supposed that there

is at this day some human law which forbids the same fact, being not forbidden by any human law (whereto he was subject) before. Out of these two rules there ariseth a question, whose determination or resolution will clear the point in question, and many other questions usually proposed in terms either slippery and ambiguous, or too subtle and curious for ordinary capacities. The question is this: whether in these cases wherein we commit sin or disobedience against God's laws, by disobeying human laws, there be two sins, one against God's law, and another against human laws? The case is clear, there is but one sin, not two sins: and this one sin is entirely against God's law. Unless this be granted, that definition of sin given by St. Austin (and acknowledged by school divines and casuists to be most complete) would be imperfect. His definition is this: 'Every sin is a thought, a word, or deed against God's law;' and every thought, word, or deed against God's law is a sin. For God's law doth bind the very thought and conscience; and to transgress this bond, though but in a secret thought, is a degree of disobedience truly and properly a sin. Now if in those cases wherein we should not disobey God's laws but by disobeying human laws, there were two distinct sins, one against God's law, and another against man's law, this latter sin (which is supposed to be only against man's law) should not be a thought, word, or deed against God's law; whereas it is supposed in the former definition there can be no sin but it must be either some thought, word, or deed against God's law, the conclusion then is certain, that no man can sin by disobeying human laws, save only so far as by disobeying them he disobeys God's laws; and in this latter disobedience doth sin properly consist. It is perhaps a school solecism to say that any human law

can bind the conscience, but it is a greater solecism, or error in practice, to say or think, that God's laws do not bind the conscience to obey some human laws. For your better information in the duty of obedience—take this rule with you: Albeit no man can sin by disobeying any human law, but only so far as by disobeying it he disobeys God's law; yet his sin or disobedience against God's law may be in divers cases greater or less, for degree, according to his greater or less disobedience unto human laws. It may be likewise greater or less, not in respect of degrees only, but for its nature or specifical quality, according to the different nature or quality of the human laws whose disobedience doth induce sin, or disobedience unto God's law.

§. 10. Some human laws there be which command things evil, or forbid things in their nature good, and by God's law required: and all obedience unto such laws is truly and properly a sin against God's law. And this necessarily infers, that neither our obedience nor disobedience to human laws are any true and proper sins, save only so far as they include some disobedience unto God's laws. Other human laws there be which command or forbid things neither commanded nor forbidden by the laws of God; things merely indifferent, not only in themselves, but in respect of any good end, of any benefit or harm likely to redound
937 either to private men, or to the church or commonweal, by observing or not observing them, yet to disobey or neglect such laws is a degree, though the lowest degree, of disobedience that can be committed against the law of God: for by disobeying such laws we shall certainly disobey those branches of God's law which command us to obey human laws or ordinances of men. For though the things commanded or for-

bidden be (as is supposed) altogether indifferent in themselves, neither good nor bad, yet disobedience to them is therefore evil, because the things commanded or forbidden are not evil. And unto those special branches of God's law which command obedience to higher powers, our obedience or disobedience is first and clearliest manifested by our obedience or disobedience to such human laws as these last mentioned, which command or forbid things most indifferent, least beneficial, or not required by any special law of God. For as *touch*, though the most ignoble of all the five senses, doth primarily and formally distinguish sensitive creatures from insensitive, so by human law and human persuasion a magistrate and a private man are primarily differenced; by that obedience, which in matters merely indifferent is due to an human law or magistrate, albeit they give no reason or use no earnest persuasions, but is not due to the earnest persuasions or reasons of a private man: for one private man's negative is as good as another's affirmative, his reasons may be counterpoised with contrary reasons, as wanting the sway of authority which is proper to the law or magistrate. Their error is very gross and dangerous unto the commonwealth, who think they are not bound to obey the law, or magistrates, save only in those things for which they can shew reason or warrant out of the word of God.

§. 11. But though our obedience to this precept in my text (and the like) is first seen and clearlier discerned by obeying such human laws as concern matters least beneficial or most indifferent, yet we sin more grievously against God's laws when we disobey such human laws as enjoin things useful, and in all probability profitable, for the church or commonweal, or for setting forth the true service and glory of God. For

instance, there is a law politic in this land (for with the ecclesiastic law I will not now meddle) which forbids the eating of flesh upon certain days: the penalty is in the law specified, and is merely temporal. The question then is, whether the law of God doth only bind our consciences to submit ourselves to the penalty, but not to obey the precept? Certainly, the penalty is required for disobedience to the precept; for the tenor of this law (as far as I conceive) is not disjunctive, as many other laws temporal are; in not observing the former part of which laws, no man shall offend God's law, so he be willing and ready to pay the mulct, or to submit himself unto the sanction. Thus it ofttimes may fall out, but then especially, when we are not tied unto the observance of the law by any other reason or motive besides the mere will or intention of the lawgiver, which sometime may be only to raise money for public use, or to have a power to keep men in order, who otherwise would offend by too much use of lawful liberty. But this particular law concerning fasting, or abstinence from flesh, doth not bind men only *ex voluntate legislatoris, sed ex utilitate et ratione legis.* The true end or reason of the law, though but a temporal, is yet a public good, as the maintenance of fishing, of shipping, &c. Now though the makers of this law could not bind men's consciences to observe it, or make eating of flesh upon any fasting day a sin,
938 yet God's law doth bind men's consciences to observe, not only the sanction, or latter part of this law which inflicts the mulct, but the former part or precept, which bindeth, not only under penalty of the mulct, or from the will of the lawgiver, but in the force or virtue of the law of nature, by which even heathen men are bound to tender the public good and welfare of their native country. But though God's law doth bind us to the

observance of this precept, or former part of this human law, yet doth it not tie us so strictly to observance of the precept, as it doth to observance of the sanction; much less doth it tie us so strictly to the observance of the precept, as we are tied to every particular branch of God's precepts. God's negative precepts *obligant semper et ad semper*, they always bind, and they bind us to all times, that is, their bond is universal. No man at any time can do that which God's law forbids, but doth thereby necessarily sin. The bond of this and like human laws is not universal but indefinite, or *ut plurimum*. Though many men often sin against God's law, by neglect or non-observance of this human law, yet may we not say that every man doth sin, or that any man doth sin at all times, and in every moment, wherein he doth not observe this human law. And it would be a hard saying, to avouch that it were a sin to desire the meats forbidden upon the days wherein they are forbidden, or to wish the law might at least be mitigated; yet thus to wish or desire would be a sin, if human laws did so bind the conscience, or if their prohibitions or negative precepts were as universal, in respect of all times, persons, or occasions, as God's negative precepts are, albeit the punishment for not observing human laws were infinitely less. A liberty of dispensation this law itself in certain cases expresseth, and otherwise than by dispensation or license had, no man is free from the temporal punishment by the law inflicted; yet from guilt of sin, or transgression of God's law, many men are free, which sometime do that which this law forbids, albeit so they do without dispensation. In this and other human laws, intended only for the temporal public good, every private man carries a court of conscience or chancery in his breast,

which, upon occasions known to God and himself to be sincere, and not pretended, may moderate the rigour of the precept, though it cannot free them from the mulct or penalty which higher powers (whom he may not resist) may at their pleasure put in execution. Even lawmakers themselves are subject to that fundamental law of doing to others as they would be done unto. And upon our charitable construction of their intentions, not to transgress this fundamental law of God, in making particular laws for others, their inferiors may presume of a dispensation tacitly included in the law itself, in some cases, wherein the license, or legal dispensation of the magistrate, cannot without hurt or inconvenience be had.

§. 12. Other laws there be, enacted by men, which more immediately concern the good of the church, the advancement of Christianity, or the public service of God; and in transgressing these laws we sin more grievously than in transgressing human laws, which merely concern the temporal good; and sin more grievously we may by transgressing some laws of this rank than others. There is a law enacted against rash or profane swearing; the law or negative precept is not merely human, for it is an essential part of the divine moral law: the sanction or penalty is human, yet not so merely human as the penalty inflicted by the former law. For the penalty, though it were a great deal more grievous, were rather a revival of the judicial
939 law of God, than a mere human sanction. Though the measure of punishment, inflicted by the judicial law of God, were altered or abrogated at the translation of the priesthood, yet is not the punishment itself altogether abrogated. Some temporal punishment ought to be inflicted upon the known transgressors of any moral precept of God, or branch of

the Ten Commandments; there may be *commutatio pœnæ*, but no total remission of the temporal punishment inflicted by the law of Moses upon transgressors of the moral law. Those branches of the judicial law of God, which concern the punishment for transgressing of God's moral law, are dead, *quoad tantum*, not *quoad totum*. And therefore Christian magistrates have not such power to dispense with the penalty, by this law enacted, upon rash or profane swearers, as they have in other laws, which in respect of their end or subject are but temporal. The party offending is more strictly bound to observe this sanction, and to submit himself unto the penalty, than he is in most other cases; bound he is to pay the mulct, although it be not demanded, or at least to bestow as much upon the poor; or to inflict some punishment upon himself, that shall be equivalent to the penalty which the law requires.

§. 13. Other human laws there be, which command set performances of duties expressly required by the law of God in the general, or indefinitely, and bind men by temporal mulcts or penalties, or by censures ecclesiastic, to certain and definite times of performance. Thus God's law enjoins us to *pray continually*, not only in private, but to meet together (at least at certain times) for presenting our joint prayers unto God. Now seeing the canons of the church bind all without exception to frequent public prayers, twice at least upon the Lord's day, and upon other festivals, and once upon other days in the week, the transgression of this law or canon, or any branch of it, doth argue an higher degree of transgressing God's laws, than the transgression of any laws merely temporal can do: and the reason is, because we are bound in more respects to observe these laws and canons,

than we are to observe laws merely temporal. First, we are not bound only *ex voluntate legislatorum*, out of the mere will of these lawmakers, albeit their will or power doth bind as much as the will of any lawgivers in causes merely temporal. And he that doth not perform obedience unto the canons of the church representative, concerning matters indifferent, doth as evidently transgress this precept in my text, and the like, as he that disobeys any temporal magistrate or lawgiver, though supreme. But besides the transgression of this divine precept, which concerns all sorts of powers, whether merely temporal, merely ecclesiastic or mixed, whosoever transgresseth the canons mentioned, doth likewise transgress those branches of God's law which enjoin obedience in special to pastors or ecclesiastic governors; as that—*Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you*[a]. By disobeying the former canons, they likewise incur the penalty annexed to that maxim of our Saviour's, which is more express and more direct for performance of obedience in the case proposed unto spiritual governors or pastors, than any injunction in the law of God is for obedience unto governors or supreme magistrates temporal: *He that heareth you*, saith our Saviour to his apostles and disciples, *heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me*[b]. And this saying
940 or injunction is then most punctually and peremptorily true, when the duties enjoined by spiritual governors are indefinitely required by the law of God in express terms for their substance, and the times only, or the manner of their performance, are enjoined

[a] Heb. xiii. 17. [b] Luke x. 16.

by public governors with unanimous consent, and not by way of exhortation, but under form of law or canon. Of this rank are those canons which enjoin men to stand up at the public profession of the articles of our faith, to kneel whilst the minister prayeth, or exhibiteth the sacrament of Christ's body and blood unto them. Now albeit our church do not command men to observe these canons as the Romish church doth, under pain of mortal sin, of forfeiture of grace, (punishments which none but God hath power to inflict,) yet the law of God doth bind our consciences to observe these canons or ecclesiastic constitutions concerning set time of prayer, and the manner of setting forth God's services, more than it doth our souls and consciences to any laws whose matter or subject is merely temporal. None of these canons do bind only *ex voluntate legislatoris, sed ex utilitate canonum,* out of the lawmakers' will, but in respect of the public good: for the life and welfare, as well of church as of commonweal, depend next under God upon the frequent and fervent prayer of the church. And to neglect such laws or canons (though made by men) as enjoin us to frequent and decent performances of such duties, is to transgress all those branches of God's law, which commands us to seek the peace and welfare of the church and commonweal, wherein the safety of the king and state under whom we live, and (which is above all) the advancement of God's glory is concerned. Neither are these canons, unto which obedience (upon all these and many other respects) is due, in regard of their end and subject, ratified only by the body or company of the clergy, albeit even so ratified only, their transgression were more dangerous than the transgression of laws merely civil: but ratified these canons are by the supreme majesty of this kingdom, by the royal

assent of kings and queens in their high courts of parliament; and so ratified, not indefinitely only, or in the general, but in special or particular. For, first, the high court of parliament gives authority or power coercive unto the clergy or church representative to make canons, so they be not prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or to the fundamental laws or customs of this land: and such, questionless, standing at the creed, kneeling at the communion, or other decent behaviour at divine service, or frequenting of divine service upon other days besides the Lord's day, are not. And besides this general power, the communion-book, and rites, and prayers in it expressed, are ratified in particular by the same supreme power and act of parliament.

941 CHAP. V.

Generally, laws consist of precepts and sanctions. Sanctions of penalties and rewards. Though the precept be unjust, yet is a Christian bound to submit to the penalty without resisting either the lawmaker or the executioner of law. No disobedience to laws disjunctive, if either the precept be performed or the sanction, i. e. the penalty, paid. As moral virtue, so obedience is beset with two extremes: one in excess, conspicuous in the Romanists' doctrine of absolute obedience: the other in defect, proper to the novelist, holding that no obedience is due to human laws, unless the makers can prove the particulars commanded by them to be commanded also by God. This latter extreme is handled in the next chapter.

§. 1. EVERY law generally consists of two parts—a precept and a sanction. The precept again may be either negative or affirmative; that is, it may either forbid us to do some things, or command us to do other things, or doth forbid and command. The sanction always includes the penalty annexed to the

transgression or nonperformance of the precept, whether negative or affirmative, or the reward proposed to the observance of it. The penalty is sometimes expressly determined by the sanction; sometimes left indefinite, and referred to the discretion of the judge or magistrate. The precept in the third commandment is negative, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;* the penalty inflicted by the sanction is indefinite, *for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.* The precept of the fifth commandment is affirmative: the reward or sanction is expressed, *that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* In every human law there is always something forbidden or commanded; and some penalty usually inflicted upon the transgressors, either in terms distinct or indefinite.

§. 2. The rule is general, that unto the penalty or sanction of every human law or ordinance, passive obedience or subjection of the outward man is due, whether the law be just or unjust: higher powers, and higher powers ordained by God, are all unto whom God hath given authority, either to make laws, or to put laws made in execution; and to resist either lawmakers, or the executioners of laws made, though unjustly made or unjustly executed, is to resist the ordinance of God. But what it is to resist higher powers, or human ordinances, will fall more directly within the second part of my general division, to wit, the grounds or reason of this precept. This we now suppose, that no human law or ordinance can be more unjust than that injunction which Ananias and Caiaphas, with the rest of the Jewish council, did lay upon the apostles, *not to teach in the name of Christ*[c]; and

[c] Acts v.

yet the apostles were subject to the penalty or sanction of this injunction, and that was stripes or imprisonment; neither of which could be more unjustly inflicted upon any men on earth, than upon these great ambassadors of the kingdom of heaven. Now if our consciences be bound by God's law to yield subjection or obedience passive unto the sanction of unjust laws, the same bond will tie our consciences more strictly to yield the like passive obedience unto sanctions not unjust, or just and profitable. All the difficulty is con-
942 cerning the obedience which is due to the precepts of unjust laws, or whether any obedience be due to the precepts or former parts of human laws, indifferent or indefinite, neither altogether unjust nor just.

§. 3. A law or precept may be two ways unjust; either in respect of its form or tenor; as in case it either commands us to do those things which God's law universally forbids us to do, or forbids those things which God's law universally commands us to do. There is no human law can be unjust, unless it enjoin somewhat which contradicts some part or branch of God's law. Every law is so far unjust, as it contradicts the law of God, or so far as the matters commanded or forbidden by it are incompatible with matters commanded or forbidden by God. The rule is general, that all such laws as enjoin or command us to be actors (either by consent or practice) in any injustice by God's law expressly forbidden, are essentially and formally unjust, and in no case to be obeyed, whatsoever penalty be in the sanction inflicted upon the transgressors or disobedient: for the greatest penalties which human sanctions can inflict are but bodily and temporal, whereas the penalty by God's law inflicted upon all workers of iniquity (without respect of any man's person, whether actor or commander)

is spiritual and everlasting. Secondly, a law may be unjust, not for its form or tenor, or not in respect of any or all particulars which it commands or forbids, but unjust only for its extent, as, either because it lays too heavy a burden upon particular persons, or some burden (though not heavy) upon some persons in equity exempted from it; and yet doth exact obedience of all under more grievous penalty than the grievance which the precept lays upon any: the law or precept for paying tribute unto kings or higher powers is just, and to be obeyed, as our apostle, Rom. xiii. 5, instructs us, *not only for fear of wrath*, or greater penalty to ensue, *but for conscience sake;* yet if the whole body representative of a commonwealth or kingdom should by law lay a far heavier tax upon their inferiors than they are able to bear, this law were unjust, and contrary to the laws of God, which denounce woes to such as lay heavy burdens upon others' shoulders; and expressly forbids even kings, and highest powers on earth, under any pretence of law or custom, to oppress the poor, the widow, or the fatherless. Yet inasmuch as the express personal consent of the oppressed is not required or included in the making of this law, how peremptory soever it be, or how unjust soever in respect of the lawmakers or executioners, it compels the oppressed only to suffer wrong, not to be actors in wrong or oppression. Now with patience to suffer wrong, or to be oppressed without resistance or opposition of violence, is not unjust, it is most commendable, and the proper fruit of subjection or obedience, and hath a reward promised by the sanction of those divine laws which forbid the doing of wrongs or violence, and enjoin patient suffering of them: so that albeit the law be unjust, yet the obedience to it is not unjust.

The case of obedience unto the precepts of such laws is the very same it was of obedience unto the sanction of laws formally unjust: for no obedience is in either case required besides obedience passive, or subjection of the outward man with his appurtenances. He that is bound to this obedience, is not bound to acknowledge either the precept of the one law or the sanction of the other to be just.

§. 4. Sometimes again the precept or former part of the law may be just and moderate in respect of most
943 parties whom it concerns, and yet be unjust in respect of some particulars unto whom the execution of it is extended contrary to the rule of common equity. The question is, whether the parties in respect of whom the execution or extent of the law (otherwise moderate) is unjust, shall sin more in obeying the precept when they may avoid it, or in not obeying it in those things which it hath no authority to command them. This question is impossible universally to be determined, or otherwise to be determined in particular cases than by due calculation and balancing of present circumstances or occurrences. Sometimes a man may do better in obeying the precept which in equity he is not bound to obey, and sometimes again he may do better in not obeying it than in obeying it: as, for instance, we will in charity suppose it to have been a just and moderate law by which that tribute money whereof we read Matt. xvii. 24. was demanded, and that they did ill for the most part that denied it, or were unwilling to pay it. Yet to demand this tribute money of the Son of God, who was not comprehended in the law, was unjust. He might with a less miracle have avoided the penalty by the sanction inflicted upon such as refused to pay, than he did perform the precept. Was it therefore unlawful for him willingly to

pay that which was unlawfully demanded of him? No; his practice proves the contrary, yet is not his practice in this particular case always to be drawn into example. His example is then only followed by us, when our imitation of it is regulated by the rule which there he gives. Now his rule is, that in this and like cases, we be willing to do those things which otherwise we would not, or are not bound to do, rather than to give offence or scandal.

§. 5. Sometimes again, the tenor of the whole law, as it consists of precept and sanction, may be disjunctive, and then no disobedience is committed either against God's law or man's law, although the precept be not obeyed. It is sufficient if either part be observed, if either that be done which the law in the first part requires, or that being not done, if the mulct or penalty be paid. This disjunctive tenor of human laws is then usual, when the end of the law may be attained by variety of means alike equivalent in respect of the common good; or when the universal observance of the precept would be less, or not more beneficial, than the indefinite or frequent observance of it. Many laws or orders there be, as well public as private, which enjoin men of quality or means to undergo annual offices, or in case they refuse to undergo them, to be fined as the sanction of the law enjoineth, or at the discretion of the magistrate. Many have refused to bear such offices without any disobedience to the law or order, so they were willing to pay the fine. And the reason why the refusing to do that which the law in the first place requires is no sin, no disobedience unto God's law, is, because the form or tenor of the law is disjunctive. And as we say that a disjunctive proposition is always true, if either part be true, so those laws whose form or

tenor is disjunctive are always truly obeyed, if either part, precept or sanction, be obeyed. And in the case concerning annual offices, some men do better obey the law by obeying the sanction only, than if they had obeyed the precept, seeing more benefit may redound to the public society out of their purses, than could have been expected out of their brains or breasts: *salus populi suprema lex est:* the safety and welfare of the whole society and community is the chief or supreme law. In some societies, wherein the choice of officers is not so great, men of condition or quality are bound by oath to undertake such offices
944 as they shall be designed unto by lawful election: and in this case obedience is due unto the precept. No man can lawfully accept the penalty of the sanction, for that is perjury; a penalty in many societies either too often inflicted by the lawgivers, or more than too often incurred by such as are tied by oath to observance of the laws or statutes. It is a weak and broken reed, whereupon some men, otherwise acute and conscionable, have sought to stay the conscience: *ubi pœna est, perjurium non est.* Where there is a mulct or penalty inflicted, there is no perjury, unless in such as do not exact the mulct. If this rule were universally true, then breach of an assertory or promissory oath should be no perjury. The former rule being inverted is a great deal more true: in all laws unto whose observance men are bound by oath, *perjurium est ubi pœna non est,* by transgressing the particular laws which have no particular mulct or penalty inflicted, the penalty which men incur is perjury. The former rule is then only true when the precept and sanction of the law are disjunctive: as when one swears or vows to observe the laws or statutes of a society, or else to undergo the temporal mulct or penalty by the

sanction inflicted. It is not the penalty inflicted in the sanction, but the disjunctive tenor of the law to which he swears, which exempts such from perjury as transgress the precept: and it is the matter or subject, or the condition of the things to which men swear, which makes the form or tenor of the law to be disjunctive. For though the statutes of most collegiate societies, to whose observance students usually are sworn, prescribe more than ordinary integrity of life and conversation, and diligence more than ordinary for proficiency in good learning, yet no wise or moderate lawgiver ties men precisely to the observance of such precepts, seeing it is not in men's power to observe them. To what then are they precisely sworn? either to observe such precepts, or to undergo the penalties inflicted for particular transgressions, or neglects of them. But unto other precepts, which neither concern integrity of life nor proficiency in learning, a man may swear directly and precisely, and every transgression of such precepts, as men have no temptations not to observe, is a breach of oath, and oft-times hath no other penalty inflicted besides perjury; which being inflicted by human laws, how far it binds the conscience I leave it to the schools, or unto other collegiate societies whom it most concerns, to determine. Thus much of obedience unto human laws in general.

§. 6. Now as all other moral virtues, so obedience to human laws, (which is the mother of virtues moral and politic, or nurse of virtues spiritual,) is beset and opposed with two extremes; the one consisting in excess, the other in defect, proper to the sect of the novelist or nonconformitan. To begin with the excess, which is most conspicuous in the doctrine of the Romish church: that church requires absolute obedience,

not to the sanction only, but to the precept of all laws which are made by the church representative or virtual; that is, by a council confirmed by the pope, or by the pope alone speaking *e cathedra*. This obedience is termed absolute two ways: first, in respect of its extent; and by that church it is extended, as well to matters of faith or manners, as unto particular matters of fact; secondly, it is termed absolute, as it is opposed to obedience conditional. For that church requireth that our obedience in matters of faith or fact should be illimited, without any reservation or condition, either precedent or subsequent; we may not
945 question whether that which the church commands be contrary to the law of God, but must absolutely believe it to be commanded by God. Every article of the Trent council, if the authority of that church be infallibly true, is a point of faith, and every Christian subject to that church is bound (some by oath) to believe it so to be. That church's interpretation of these words of Christ, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church*, and of these, *Peter, Feed my sheep*, bequeaths all that authority unto the pope or church virtual, which Christ himself had or could have over the church militant, were he now visibly resident in it. To obey the pope in all things, is to obey Christ in all things; to disobey his cathedral constitutions in any thing, is to disobey Christ in the same particular: the necessary consequent of this belief or obedience, is not a transgression only of God's whole law, but an utter inversion of it. For by this illimited power the pope may turn all God's negative precepts into affirmative, and all his affirmative precepts into negatives: and this is all that the devil himself could desire, if he could by simony or other indirect means obtain solemn personal admission into

St. Peter's chair to govern God's church. For all that Satan ever sought for, was to deface God's image in our souls, and to instamp them with his own; to make us to do only that which he would have us to do, and to do that which God hath forbidden us to do, or not to do that which God commands us to do. Yet all this the pope may do, if such absolute obedience as is demanded were due unto him, and all this he may do in as vile a manner as the devil could desire to do it. But hath the pope done so, or is it likely that he will do so, if such absolute obedience as he demands were once yielded unto him? To this we must answer by degrees: first, the Jesuits confess, that if the pope in his cathedral constitutions may err, then the whole church may err, yea are bound to err with him. Now that the pope hath erred as grossly and perniciously in many points of greatest consequence, as the devil himself could desire he should err in any, we shall easily prove by these instances following, of his inverting God's principal laws.

§. 7. The first and fundamental law of God is this, *Thou shalt have no other gods but me.* But he that believes the pope cannot err in any decree, doth make the pope a god, a greater god than any heathen did conceive the greatest god whom they worshipped to be. The heathen transformed the glory of the immortal God into the similitude of man or earthly creatures; the Romanist transforms a mortal man, yea monsters of mankind, (such some of their popes by their own confession have been,) into the similitude of the only wise God. As they make the pope a greater god for wisdom and infallibility than the heathens conceived Jupiter or any other god to be, so they give him a greater power of making saints or lesser gods than the heathens acknowledged any, either in

Jupiter, or in the whole society of gods whom they worshipped. For every one whom the pope shall canonize for a saint, the whole Christian world is bound to believe that he is a saint, and so to worship him. And this is to make his authority over Christ's church greater than God's own authority is; for that authority is always greater which is to be equally or more obeyed, upon less evidence of reason, than other authority is with which it is compared. Such as God commends unto us for true saints, we so acknowledge, as being assured that God doth commend none unto us for such, but them whose hearts he knows, as knowing all things. Yet to worship saints deceased,
946 God himself by his prophets or apostles did never command us. But the pope commends them to the church militant for saints, and commands all Christian people to worship them as saints, whose hearts he knows not, whose faces he never saw, much less was acquainted either with their manner of lives or conversations, the manner of whose death he knows not but by hearsay: and, which is of all others the strangest doctrine, he may authorize one man's testimony of other men's death to be infallible, and of authentic credit more than ordinary.

§. 8. Again, God in his second commandment forbids us to *worship any graven image, or the similitude of any thing in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath,* protesting his special jealousy in this part of his service, thereby to make us more wary and cautelous of all suspicious behaviour or occasions of idolatry, than a woman suspected by her husband ought to be of her carriage, or for avoiding familiarity with suspicious men. This negative precept of God, thus fenced with that terrible sanction of *visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children*

unto the third and fourth generation, the pope hath turned it into an affirmative, commanding all under pain of curse to fall down and worship the images, not only of true saints, but of such as he shall make saints, or decree so to be worshipped. And what could hell in the height of her vast desires wish more than this? Now albeit the heathen did adore some men deceased, which were as bad conditioned whilst they lived as any of those were whom the pope after death hath declared to be saints, yet this idolatry could not be half so gross in the heathen as it is in the modern Romanist, because the heathens did not bind men to believe that their decrees concerning such practices were authorized by the law of the true God, whom they knew not, whereas the Romanist believes that his worshipping the images of saints is allowed of by authority of God himself incarnate, and bequeathed unto Peter and his successors in these words, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.* And this is the foulest aspersion that Satan could desire to be cast upon God's law; the foulest despite that he could conceive against the Spirit of God, to make men believe that his service and the liturgy of hell, so strictly forbidden by Moses' law, should be authorized by the gospel, by the mouth of God incarnate. This is a sin, of which the worst of the heathen were not capable.

§. 9. If we descend unto the second table, the first and chief precept of it is that affirmative, *Honour thy father and thy mother*, and this precept is ratified with that sanction of comfort, *that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee*, that is, it hath respectively the promise of this life, and of the life to come. Yet this affirmative precept the pope or church of Rome hath turned into

a negative, as opposite to it as the wit of hell could desire or wish: exempting not children only from the bond of obedience to their natural parents, but subjects from the tie and oath of allegiance to their king and country, whom all, as well parents as children, are by this precept bound to honour, the one as their supreme father, the other as their supreme mother under heaven. Nor doth he exempt subjects only from relieving or aiding their sovereign father or sovereign mother, after such a manner as the scribes and Pharisees did, by their unwritten traditions free such as would sacrifice unto their corban, from this duty of relieving or being any way beneficial unto the parents of their bodies, but binds them withal to account disobedience unto king and country to be
947 a part of God's service, if he who is their spiritual father have condemned them of heresy, or of rebellion against the church: in these cases to work the ruin or dishonour of king or country is to honour God. And what greater despite could Satan wish to be done to God by sinful men than this, to turn the point of his own sword upon him, and to establish murder of kings and desolation of our native country, (of both which he is the father and author,) by this divine precept of obedience unto them? That this precept doth especially concern that honour which is due to magistrates, or superior powers, the Romanists themselves do not deny; but they, taking it as granted that the pope is the supreme power or magistrate on earth, think no other parents, whether natural or civil, can be unjustly dishonoured by any practice that shall tend to the honour of their holy father the pope.

§. 10. God in the third commandment forbids us *to take his name in vain;* and in the ninth, *to bear false witness against our neighbour:* the highest branch of

any disobedience that can be attempted against either commandment is blasphemy or perjury. Now the very dregs of both these sins, the pope, by this illimited power, hath established, and made current for the water of life. For to doubt whether breach of oath or recalling of vows solemnly made be any sin, if it shall please the pope to dispense with either, or to exact a contrary vow or oath, is a point of heresy. To swear one thing and mean another, so it may tend to the church's good, is no sin: for a man solemnly betrothed unto a woman in the sight of God and of the congregation, so he proceed no further, to recall or retract his faith plight, so he will vow a monastical or single life, and enter into a religious order, is so far from being a sin, that it is a point of perfection, at least an approach or way unto it. Now to make the true God to be the author and approver of all these practices against his own ordinances, to believe or teach that all the canons, interpretations, or injunctions of popes for authorizing, abetting, or countenancing these or the like practices, are the immediate dictates and oracles of the Holy Ghost, is the greatest blasphemy that in point of doctrine can be committed or conceived against him; a sin whereof the Jew or heathen (how wicked soever they otherwise be) are guiltless, and altogether uncapable.

§. 11. So then the heathens were all idolaters; many of them (not all) were disobedient to father and mother, many of them trucebreakers, some perjured, others murderers; but they did not make murder, perjury, or disobedience to father and mother, treason against their king and native country, acts of piety and religion; they did not, they could not, poison the fountain of living waters (which were not

open to them) with the doctrine of devils. This is peculiar to the Roman catholic, or to the Romish religion. The Jew indeed did corrupt the doctrine of the Old Testament with unwritten traditions, which he did obtrude upon the people, not as human traditions, authorized by the synagogue only, but by authority derived from God: yet if we compare the tradition of the Jews at or before our Saviour's time, with the traditions of the modern Romish church, the one is *signanter*, expressed by our Saviour with this title of *traditions of men*, the other emphatically instyled by his apostle *the doctrine of devils*. Besides this odds in the doctrines themselves, the Romish church poisoneth not the Old Testament only, but the fountain of life and salvation, (which hath been shut up from the Jew, but open to us Christians in the
948 gospel,) with these doctrines of devils. The impieties and practices of the Jew, of the Mahometan, or heathen, are plain and open; their doctrines are full of iniquity, yet mysteries of iniquities they cannot be. This is the peculiar character of Romish religion, whose doctrine could not be so deadly or devilish, unless it did thus closely wrap and entwine itself with the doctrine of the gospel, and so cunningly mingle Christ's commandments and the pope's commandments, that none without the spirit of judgment and discretion can easily discern the one from the other.

§. 12. Inasmuch as it is a mystery of iniquity, ye cannot expect the full explication or unfolding of it, specially in this scantling of time; it shall therefore suffice thus far to have taken a general survey of root and branch. The root is this pretended infallibility of the present Romish church; the branches are the impious practices which have issued and yet may issue

out of this poisonous persuasion. If we speak of times past, the practices which this mispersuasion hath bred, have been (within these six hundred years last past) so many and so devilish within Europe, that no Jesuit, though we allot him the whole world for his stage, and the whole succession of time from Adam to pope Hildebrand for his scene, shall ever be able to match or parallel them. In respect of what hereafter may be, if the Jesuit, (as he is cunning in contrivance, or imaginations of possibility,) yet let the cunningest Jesuit in the world set his imagination a working to contrive or frame an impious religion, as impious as he can conceive, if it might be out of the dregs of heathenism, Judaism, and Mahometanism put together, always provided that this absolute infallibility of any visible company of men be no ingredient in the mixture, and he shall easily find that all the heresies or false doctrines in the world, either formally extant or imaginable, cannot make up that measure of antichristianism which is contained in the fundamental article of his belief, that is, of the pope's absolute infallibility, with the consequences and superstructures thereupon. No Jesuit or favourer of that doctrine will (I presume) deny the truth of this consequence. If it be possible for the church to err in points of faith and manners, or if it hath erred or may err in their interpretations of the forecited commandments, then this doctrine of her absolute infallibility, and of absolute obedience to all her doctrines or injunctions, is so much worse than heathenism, as the doctrine of the Old Testament is better than any religion or doctrine which the heathens knew; so much worse than Judaism or Mahometanism, as the glory of the gospel is greater than the glory of the Old Testament. To conclude; the heathens

did corrupt the law of nature, and to this corruption the Jews added the corruption of the law of God by unwritten traditions: the Romanist defiles not only the law of nature and of God in the Old Testament, but the most fundamental precepts of the New, making all the promises which God hath made unto his church in either Testament, to serve but as a stale to bring in the pope's transcendent authority over all Christians. Thus much of that extreme which consists in excess.

§. 13. England, for that blind and slavish obedience which in respect of other nations she did perform unto the see of Rome, was by Italians and other foreigners not unfitly termed *the pope's ass*. Howbeit, the brutish ignorance of our forefathers in the mysteries of their salvation did make that measure of obedience to the Romish church partly excusable in them, which in us (to whom the gospel hath long time shined) would be
949 altogether damnable. But it would be ignorance more than brutish, ignorance so far from excusing other sins, that itself would be a sin inexcusable, if we should hope or presume that the Romish yoke would not be made ten times heavier unto us than it was upon our forefathers, if God in his just judgment should strengthen the enemies of our peace to lay it again upon this island's neck. For the church of Rome, since our forefathers' departure from her, hath multiplied her doctrines of devils, and mingled her cup with such abominations, as would make the taste of it, to such as have been accustomed to the sincere milk of the gospel, altogether deadly; and yet hope there is none that we should not be urged to drink more deep of it than our forefathers were, if this cruel step-mother should once recover her pretended title of dominion over us. No choice would be left,

but either torture of conscience or torment of body; we must make account to sit down with loss either of present possessions, or of our hopes of inheritance in the world to come. But many of us in the pride and presumption of our hearts will say, 'Had we been or were we in place of authority or command, the necessity of this miserable choice had ere this time been removed, or should quickly be prevented.' If I should here take upon me so far to apologize for higher powers as not to attribute a great part of the misery which hath lately befallen this land, and yet hangs over it, unto their errors or oversight, I should undergo the censure (without apology or appeal) of a parasite or timeserver. As I will not therefore speak any thing against higher powers, so neither will I at this time speak for them. Only give me leave to tell you, that God in his providence doth never suffer higher powers to be at any gross default, of negligence, oversight, or wilfulness, but for the like gross defaults in those that are subject and should be obedient to them. If the eyes of state be at any time weak or dim, it is a certain sign that the whole body is either feeble or much distempered. The best advice that I can give unto you is, that every one of us, so oft as we shall though but in heart or secret thought repine or murmur at the negligence, oversight, or wilfulness of higher powers, would presently and peremptorily inflict this penance upon himself, to multiply his sorrow for his own sins past; to multiply his prayers and almsdeeds, with all other practices of piety, that so we may all at these our public meetings lift up pure hearts and hands unto the Father of spirits, and God of all power and wisdom, that he would so enlighten the eyes and head of our state, that they may find out the special sins which have procured

his wrath against this land, and so inspire their hearts with resolution and constant courage that they may crush this serpent's brood wheresoever it nestle. Hear us, O heavenly Father, in these and all other our prayers for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

950 CHAP. VI.

That inferiors are bound to obey laws of the land, and canons of the church, whether commanding such particulars as are not expressly commanded in God's word, or forbidding such particulars as are not expressly forbidden in the same. The mean betwixt the absolute obedience of the Romanist, and the conditional obedience of the novelist.

§. 1. If absolute obedience (as opposed to conditional) be not due to the church or constitutions ecclesiastic, then the probability is great, that only obedience conditional is due. And if to ecclesiastic canons or constitutions, ratified by public supreme authority, we owe no other obedience besides conditional, it may seem to follow with great probability, that we are not bound to obey the makers or interpreters of them, otherwise than upon condition, that they shew or prove the particulars by their constitutions commanded, to be commanded likewise by the law of God, which is the rule, as of faith towards God, so of obedience towards men or laws human. Upon these and the like collections some (neither of great place nor authority either in church or commonweal) have malapertly demanded of church governors, "What scriptures have you for divers rites and ceremonies in your church; as, for standing at the creed, for kneeling at the communion, for using the sign of the cross after baptism?" Now if we answer, as we must needs answer, that we have no express command or warrant in God's word

for all or any of these particulars, they forthwith conclude, that as no man is bound to pay money until the condition upon which he is to pay it be performed, and proof or evidence made of its performance; so they are not bound to obey the church's constitutions in these particulars, but upon condition that they which demand obedience do shew their particular warrant out of scripture, seeing they owe no absolute obedience saving only unto God's laws, and to human laws no obedience but conditional. Yet if these collections were legitimate, there should be no distinction of higher and lower powers, no difference between magistrates and private men, none between pastors and sheep. No man should be bound to obey another, but all men bound, and equally bound, only to obey the express law of God.

§. 2. If any man should presume to say that the whole church or state representative hath no more authority over a private man (suppose a tinker) than every private man, than every tinker hath over them, there is not one, I am persuaded, either in this or in any other congregation within this corporation or county, but would disclaim the assertion as ridiculously impious and seditious. And yet for any man, that hath once granted the former premises, to wit, 'that we are not bound to obey the church in standing at the creed, &c., but upon condition that she shew express warrant for these particulars out of scripture;' I say, after this once granted, to deny the former conclusion, to wit, 'that church and state have no more authority over private men, than private men have over them,' would be more palpably gross, than to hold this conclusion positively and affirmatively as a principle of faith, or a necessary consequent of our freedom or liberty of the Spirit. To do that which the law of

God expressly commands them to do, kings and princes, church and state, are bound as strictly, as immediately, as meanest subjects are. Whence if the meanest sub-
951 ject could out of God's law shew king, church, or state, what they ought to do in particular, all of them were absolutely bound to obey the commandment of God, by whomsoever, or by what means soever, it were manifested unto them. Now if inferiors were bound to obey superiors upon no other terms than that they shew the particulars enjoined to be commanded by the law of God, the former conclusion, 'that nor king nor state nor church have any more authority over private men than private men have over them,' would follow more immediately and directly than any inconvenience or absurdity that can be inferred out of this conclusion once granted. For kings, church, and state, are always to obey the word of God, though manifested unto them by private men; but thus to obey the word of God manifested unto them in particular, is to obey it only, not them that manifest it. Now if private men were not to obey the church or state, but upon condition that they bring some rule of scripture or God's law for the particulars in which they require obedience, the case is clear, that, in yielding obedience only upon these terms, they in effect deny all obedience to the church or state, and yield it only to the law of God. Whereas the law of God (out of all question) binds the conscience of private men to perform some more obedience unto magistrates or higher powers (whether civil or ecclesiastic) than such magistrates owe to them, although they were as skilful in scripture or God's laws as the higher powers are. There is not one scruple or quillet, not so much as any colour of reason, that can be pretended for nonconformity or denial of obedience to the rites and ceremonies of this

church, but (if it be well scanned) will conclude more against the crown and dignity of our sovereign, against all magistracy civil or temporal, than it can do against church governors or canons ecclesiastic.

§. 3. First, the word of God doth as immediately authorize church governors to make rules or canons for the order and government of the church, as it doth authorize and warrant the civil magistrate to enact laws and statutes for government of the commonweal. And (as you have heard before) God's laws are as much and as immediately disobeyed by disobedience to canons ecclesiastic, as by disobedience to laws temporal. Again; admitting the clergy and laity to be alike obnoxious to error in making of laws, yet the practices commanded by the canons ecclesiastic are neither so many, nor (for the most part) of so dangerous consequence, as the practices enjoined by laws temporal are, admitting our doubts or scruples of the lawfulness of both laws and practices were the same or equal. Say then, some private men make doubt or scruple, whether standing at the creed, whether kneeling at the communion, be not superstitious; whether the cross after baptism be not worse than these; all of them vehemently suspected to be either occasions of scandal or offence to weak consciences, or acknowledged (at the best) to be but things in themselves indifferent, which have been and may be abused: yet, however they may frame such doubts unto themselves, they cannot conceive the danger arising from such doubts, concerning the lawfulness of these practices, to be any way comparable to the danger that may arise from doubt or scruple of being guilty in shedding innocent blood. Of such then as refuse to observe the former rites, because they cannot be secured by any rule of faith whether they be lawfully commanded or

no, I would demand, by what warrant or rule of faith
952 any sheriff in this land can see or command the execution of all such as are sentenced to death? The word of God or rule of faith doth not assure him that neither witness, jury, or judge were corrupted; nay, he may sometime have more positive reasons to suspect some malice or injustice in part of the process, than any private man can have to suspect the forementioned rites or ceremonies of superstition. What then must warrant the sheriff or other attendant of justice in these cases from guilt of innocent blood? Only this, that God's law authorizeth *higher powers* to make laws in matters capital, and to take away life from men by legal process condemned to die; and that the same law of God doth likewise enjoin inferior powers to be obedient and subject unto the *higher powers*, as in other cases, so especially in the execution of laws. Lawful it is for the sheriff or other inferior officer in the forementioned case to doubt whether the party were justly condemned or no; but the lawfulness of this doubt will not warrant his refusal to see the law executed. He may safely doubt whether the condemnation be just, and yet is not thereby bound to doubt whether his execution of the party condemned be just, or whether he may with safe conscience see the law executed. For his own subjection and obedience to the law is unquestionable, as being undoubtedly commanded by the law of God. And if he had no hand in the party's unjust condemnation, or in wresting the law to wreak private revenge, he is free from guilt of blood, although by his power and means the law or sentence be executed.

§. 4. The case is the same in matter of war. It is not enough for a soldier or leader, being by the state or higher powers designed unto some exploit or service,

to answer, "I doubt much whether the war and quarrel be on your part just; and it is a fearful thing to shed innocent blood, or to have mine own blood shed in an unjust quarrel." Now for soldiers or captains to be secured by rule or warrant of faith, that the particular wars in which they serve are always just, or by God's law approvable, is a matter neither usual, nor almost possible. And yet not being secured by warrant of faith that the war is just, they cannot be freed from doubt or scruple that it is unjust. But this doubt, though just, doth not warrant them to doubt whether their refusal to serve in such wars be lawful or no; or whether their service be not a sin, because it is not performed out of a full persuasion that the war is just and lawful. Rather, in that it is to him doubtful, but no more than doubtful, not manifest, that the war is unjust, his peremptory refusal to serve in it would be a sin, and an action properly not of faith. And such no human action can be, unless it be committed against some express rule of faith, at least to the apprehension of the party doubting. So that it is not simply our doubting whether the actions or things commanded us be lawful or no, in respect of the commanders; but our doubting whether our doing of them be against some express rule of faith, which makes our actions to be *not of faith.* Now that the higher powers have authority to make war, is a rule of faith unquestionable. That their authority in this and like cases is to be obeyed, is likewise a rule of faith undoubted. But whether the higher powers in this particular case do abuse their authority, or whether they err in judgment, this ordinarily cannot be certain, *certitudine fidei,* by a certainty of faith or evidence of reason to inferiors not interested in consultations of state. And for this reason refusal of obedience cannot

be an action of faith, but rather an action *not of faith*,
953 in such inferiors as have a general lawful calling to serve in wars. As for the supreme magistrate, for the council of war, it nearly concerns them to be fully resolved, and in conscience (rightly informed) fully persuaded, that the wars which they undertake be lawful and just, otherwise their acts are *not of faith*, but fearful and grievous sins. For guilty they shall be, not only of their enemies', but of all the blood (whether of friends or foes) that shall be shed in wars unjustly begun or managed by them. But inasmuch as the consent of inferiors is not required to the undertaking, nor their votes or *placets* demanded in the consultations of war, they are rather compelled to suffer wrong than to be any actors in wrong or injustice, although the war (though not so fully known to them) be unjust. Albeit they be active in fight, yet their obedience is rather passive than active, a subjection only of the outward man; and so long as they observe the laws of arms and of nations, they are no workers of iniquity, though others die by their hands. So long as their intentions are free from robbery or thirst of blood, none die by their swords but such as God hath given into their hands.

§. 5. Now if that unquestionable obedience which inferiors owe to higher powers may secure an executioner of public justice, or a commander in the wars, from guilt of sin or blood, albeit the one much doubt whether the party whom he causeth to be executed were justly condemned, and the other, whether the war wherein he serves be lawful; much more may that undoubted obedience which every private man owes unto his bishop, his ordinary pastor, most of all that which all owe unto the public laws or constitutions of the church their mother, warrant their con-

formity to all the rites and ordinances which the church of England requires, albeit the parties thus conforming themselves may doubt or vehemently suspect that the rites themselves be unnecessary, or the canons which enjoin them be partly unjust, partly superfluous. It is sufficient for them that their consent was not required or included in the ordaining such rites. If they had been called to give their voice or suffrage for the making of such canons, it had been free for them to have given a negative or an affirmative; yet bound they had been by the rule of faith to have been fully persuaded in their conscience that this their own act had been lawful and just, and no way against any branch of God's law. But these canons being not their own acts, but the acts of men in authority unto whom they owe obedience, their obedience to the canons and constitutions is safe and warrantable, albeit they still doubt whether the makers of these canons or constitutions did not grievously sin in making them. It being reserved to the judgment of God whether so they did or no, their refusal of conformity to the canons themselves must needs be *non ex fide—not of faith*, unless they can by necessary and concludent reasons prove that the rites or practices in the canons contained are simply evil, and forbidden by the law of God, not only to be commanded by the lawmakers, but, being so commanded, to be obeyed by inferiors. For in many cases the superior may be forbidden to command that which, being commanded, the inferior is not forbidden, but commanded (by the law of God) to obey. It is a rule of faith, that human ordinances (ecclesiastic especially, which are ofttimes more than human, in respect of their subject or matter, though but human in respect of their authors or

makers) are to be obeyed for conscience sake. The
954 rule of faith and conscience enjoins obedience in the general; and from obedience unto them in particular no private man can be exempted, save only by some rule of faith which to his certain knowledge they thwart or cross.

§. 6. He that cannot prove this contrariety or dissonancy between the particular ceremonies at which he stumbles or spurns, and some rule of faith, is no way excusable by pretended fear or strong suspicion that the ceremonies or rites enjoined are occasions of scandal or of seduction unto others. He that makes this apology for himself, should first consider, whether his disobedience or nonconformity do not offend them more, to whom he is bound to give no offence, both as private persons and governors, than his conformity could. If he be afraid of scandal passive, (as, lest others should be emboldened by his example to sin against their consciences,) his fear is vain; for none but such as make scruple themselves could take this offence. And it may be, there are not many which would be much moved by his example one way or other. Or if his example might sway much with some one or other, it is as likely to sway them to disobey God's laws by disobeying as by obeying the church's laws. If he be afraid of offending, that is, of displeasing others, this fear is more vain and foolish than the former; for not only the governors, but the major and better part of the church wherein he lives, would be much better pleased with his conformity than with his dissension from them. And why he should seek to please some foreigners (if haply they will be pleased) by displeasing the greater part of the church and state wherein he lives, I am sure he hath no reason. But

afraid he is, lest himself, and others by his example, should fall into superstition by observing the rites and ceremonies of the church his mother; whereas the adversaries of the truth (superstition and idolatry itself) get widest and easiest entrance into the church and state, and make their party strongest, by this division and deformity which he and his fellows only occasion.

§. 7. It had been happy for this church and state, if those foreign writers, who sought to dissuade the ceremonies of our church, from this general topic of giving scandal unto others, had not themselves given greater occasion of scandal and offence unto those very men for whose benefit and security from scandal they wrote. Free it was for these foreigners to dissuade the making or continuing many canons of our church, lest haply they might give offence or scandal unto others. And herein haply they did not much transgress the rules of charity or discretion. But they should have taught them for whose good they wrote, (being men more apt and docile to learn any good lesson from them than from any others,) that it was not so free for them, being subjects to the crown, and children of the church of England, to deny obedience to the canons being made, as it was for the governors of other churches to dissuade their making. But these great foreign masters, having left this good lesson out of their catechisms, such as gloried most in being their disciples, and sought more earnestly to hold conformity with them than with their mother in point of ceremony, have lost conformity, not with their foreign masters only, but with the whole church of God, in that which is more than ceremonial. For no foreign church permits her children to conform themselves to other churches more than to herself, or unto those with which she holds conformity. If some churches

permit a promiscuous use of some ceremonies, suffering some to sit, others to stand, others to kneel, or every man to use what gesture he please, at the com-
955 munion, yet this freedom is decreed by some canon or approved custom; and every man in doing as it liketh him best, without quarrelling or contradicting others, obeys the laws and canons of that church wherein he lives. For I suppose no church will permit or authorize dissension or strife within her own bowels, but rather seek by wholesome laws to prevent the original, or quell the outburstings of all dissension. If any should question, flout, or censure another for sitting or standing at the communion in those churches which permit a liberty for every man to use which of these gestures he please, he should be questioned and punished for disobedience. If any church forbid kneeling at the communion, the same church will not suffer such as kneel at it to escape without censure, because this kind of gesture is by the canon or custom of that church forbidden. For this reason, if any professed member of the church, or subject of the kingdom of England, shall either sit or stand at the communion, at which his mother commands him to kneel, he, in thus doing, holds no conformity with those very churches which forbid kneeling, and permit sitting or standing. For they of other churches refuse to kneel, out of obedience to their mother, and conformity to their brethren. These men with whom we have to deal refuse to kneel out of disobedience to their mother, and choose rather to sit or stand, though this gesture manifestly breed a deformity to the congregation of their brethren. The men thus affected might as well (if not better) hold conformity with other free states, kingdoms, or commonweals, in practice of justice or form of temporal government, as in manner of dis-

cipline or government ecclesiastic. But would any free state or kingdom suffer disobedience to their temporal laws to pass unpunished, upon pretences or allegations that the temporal laws or form of government in other states were much better. Now he that can find in his heart to conform himself unto the temporal laws and government of his native country, (albeit he like or fancy the laws or form of government used in other countries much better,) and will not hold conformity with himself in practising the like obedience to the laws and government of the church wherein he lives, albeit he like the discipline of other churches better, he either obeys neither out of conscience, or hath a conscience doubtless of no equable temper or homogeneal constitution, but a conscience so pieced out of the fluctuant fancies of his brain, as if one part of it were of wax and another of horn; otherwise it were impossible it should be so pliable to temporal laws, and so obdurate and unpliable in respect of laws ecclesiastic.

§. 8. But admitting some men's conscience, out of ill custom rather than from any rule of reason, is really offended with some particular ceremonies of the church, as with kneeling at the communion, safest it were for such a man, whilst this infirmity remaineth, to refrain communion at least in public with such as kneel. For if either his scruples were grounded on reason, and not upon affected ignorance, or the danger feared were material and weighty, the same motives which withdraw him from communion with others in kneeling, would restrain him from communicating at all with such as kneel. If kneeling in his judgment pollute this service of God, he is a communicant in polluted service, and a participant of others' sins. If kneeling in his judgment doth not pollute the service of God, it

is a matter merely indifferent, and not to be refused and stumbled at by any that makes conscience of obeying or
956 disobeying human laws, whether ecclesiastic or civil. For as the least weight that can be added to the one scale of a just and equal balance will cast it, so if there be but the least dram or scruple of right conscience, it will sway the party in whom it is to yield obedience unto human laws in things indifferent. And whosoever doth assume the same liberty to himself in things indifferent after a law or canon made, which he did before, his wits have forsaken him, if he can persuade himself that he makes any conscience of obedience, or that he obeys any laws for conscience sake. But some haply will say, that the law is unjust that takes away men's Christian liberty. But admitting that some ecclesiastic canons may take away some part of that liberty from Christians which might better have been left unto them, yet after the canon be once made, the use of this liberty is not Christian, but licentiousness or libertinism, and a sin which contains more degrees in it than most are aware of.

§. 9. Not to receive the sacrament at all, or not to receive it as the church enjoins, is a point of disobedience, and therefore truly and properly a sin; yet a sin which might have some pretence of conscience in such as heretofore have been misled by Brown or Barrow, or the like. For albeit the doubts or scruples which these men cast into their followers' consciences were erroneous, yet so long as these scruples were unremoved, they did not commit another sin in separating themselves from the English church, or in removing unto other places wherein that liberty which here could not be obtained was granted them. But for any that holds communion with the church of England, and can be content to enjoy the benefit of

her laws, whether ecclesiastic or civil, in other cases; for any such to intrude themselves into any congregation, without conforming themselves unto it in rites and ceremonies, wants all pretence of any true rule of conscience or of moral honesty. It is no better than a real scurrility, a profane and malapert disobedience, and a scandal two ways malicious. For how can any party thus affected imagine that he who consecrates and ministers the sacrament according to the rites and custom of our church, to which he subscribes, should not be grieved in soul and heart to see them openly and publicly transgressed, albeit no penalty were inflicted either upon the transgressor or nonconformitant, or upon the minister for his connivance? This is one part of the scandal. The other is, that the nonconformitant doth hereby endanger both him that ministers the food of life unto him, and others that are appointed overseers of church orders, as well in matter of temporal as of spiritual consequence. For the penalty enacted in the sanction of the canon upon the priest which shall exhibit the sacrament to others not kneeling is suspension, and may prove loss of his place or livelihood; and for the priest and churchwardens to see the abuse continued, and not presented, is breach of oath. Admit then any refractory nonconformitant could, upon favour or potency with great ones, justly presume of immunity from any temporal punishment likely to befall him for his refusal of conformity, yet seeing others are tied by oath and by other penalties to observe and present his nonconformity, if pride, or malice and hypocrisy, did not bear greater sway in his heart than any conscience of obedience either to God's laws or to man's, he would choose to live an exile from his native country, or to die at home, rather than to endanger other men's estates, or wound their con-

sciences by their connivance at his open disobedience. Thus much of the second extreme wherewith true Christian obedience is beset or opposed; which ex-
957 treme being proper to the novelist or nonconformitant, is opposed to the other extreme (which consisteth in excess, and is proper to the doctrine of the Romish church) by way of contrariety. Now as in all other virtues, so it falls out in this virtue of obedience, that albeit the contrariety or difference between the two extremes be wider and greater, yet the true opposition of the two extremes unto the mean is more direct and perpetually certain than the opposition between the two extremes. The two extremes, wherewith every virtue or golden mean is beset, are always contrary; and two contraries may be false; but the virtue or golden mean is opposed to both the extremities or vices wherewith it is beset, by way of contradiction. And it is impossible that both parts of a contradiction should be false, the one part must of necessity be true. For every liberal man is neither covetous nor prodigal; but every prodigal man lays a necessity upon himself of being sometimes covetous. And there is no niggardly or covetous man but will be sometime prodigal: a niggard's feast (as the proverb is) is ofttimes sauced with luxury. Both the extremes wherewith Christian obedience is beset agree in this, that they necessarily include a practice of disobedience to God's laws, which the mean (to wit, true Christian obedience to human laws) doth not include.

§. 10. But seeing the Romish church can challenge no more than absolute obedience, and the nonconformitant grants obedience conditional to divers human laws, what positive mean is there left between them? Is there any obedience to human laws which is neither absolute nor conditional? or any obedience which is

partly absolute, partly conditional, or a medley of both? One of these means must needs be granted. For every mean between two extremes or opposite terms (of what kind soever the opposition be) is either *medium abnegationis*, or *participationis;* there is no third mean between them. And every mean (as was said) between two extremes or opposite terms includes a direct contradiction of them both. Contradictory opposites or extremes admit no mean at all, either of abnegation or participation. Terms privatively opposite admit a mean of abnegation, not a mean of participation. Many terms contrarily opposite admit a mean of participation: *Necesse est quodlibet affirmari, aut negari de eodem.* There is no mean between a denial and an affirmation of the same attribute upon the same subject; as if you should say, that every creature in the world doth either see or not see, your speech would be true, because there is no mean imaginable between seeing and not seeing; for these are contradictory. But if you should say that every creature in the world doth either see or is blind, this assertion is false. For that only can be truly said blind which is capable of sight; so are not stocks or stones, so are not many living creatures, which for this reason can neither be said to see or to be blind. Nor can we properly say that all creatures capable of sight are at all times either blind or endued with sight. For some kinds of seeing creatures, as whelps, (or at least some kind of whelps,) can neither be said to be blind nor to be endued with sight until the ninth day, because before that time they are not by course of nature capable of sight. So then between sight and blindness, which are privatively opposite, there is *medium abnegationis*, that is, there be some creatures which

can neither truly be said to be blind or to be endued with sight. For stocks and stones cannot possibly be imagined to see, nor can they be said to be blind, because they cannot be deprived of sight, of which
958 they are not capable, of which they never were possessed, nor had any right unto it: nor is there any other mean or middle temper, besides this *medium abnegationis*, between sight and blindness, or between other terms, whereof the one includes the absolute privation of the other. But between two contrary qualities there may be a mean of participation, or a temper composed of both extremes. As for example; though most sublunary bodies be capable both of heat and cold, and may be truly said to be sometimes hot and sometimes cold, yet cannot we say that every body is always hot or cold. For bodies capable both of heat and cold may be sometimes of such a middle temper betwixt both, (such a temper as we call lukewarm,) that they may have as much heat as cold in them, and as much cold as heat; and whilst they are so, they are neither hot nor cold. And this is that which we call *medium participationis*, that is, a medley or composition of both extremes.

§. 11. The question is, Whether that Christian obedience which we plead for as a mean between the absolute obedience of the Romish flock, and the conditional obedience of the nonconformitant, be *medium abnegationis;* that is, an obedience neither absolute nor conditional, nor a mixture of them; or *medium participationis*, that is, partly absolute, partly conditional. But leaving this question in these terms proposed unto the schools, it shall suffice to shew, that this Christian obedience which the church of England requires of her children doth truly differ from that

absolute obedience which the church of Rome demands, and from that conditional obedience which the nonconformitant will only grant. It differs from that obedience which the Romish church demands, first, in respect of its subject or extent: the Romish church demands obedience to all her doctrines in matters of faith, or essential parts of God's worship. The church of England demandeth not of her children obedience in so large extent; indeed she enjoineth them all to obey all the laws of God. For it is a fundamental point of this church, to which every bishop at his consecration assenteth, that nothing shall be by him propounded unto the people as a point of faith, unless it be either contained in scripture *totidem verbis*, or may from scriptures be evidently and necessarily deduced to the capacity of the party which is to believe it. If the party be not capable of the deduction or collection made by the bishop or minister, or if he cannot apprehend the point propounded to him to be evidently or necessarily contained in the scripture, he is not bound to believe it instantly, but only upon condition, or in case it be made evident unto him hereafter. And thus far the nonconformitant is orthodoxal, and agrees with the church of England, and both with the truth. So then the Romanist swerves from the mean, in attributing as much authority to the church of Rome in matter of faith, as she undoubtedly hath in matter of ceremony. The novelist swerves from the same mean, in granting no more authority to the church in matter of ceremony than she hath in matters of faith. And herein he differs from the doctrine of the church of England. For most certain it is, that the visible church hath more authority in matters of ceremony than she hath in matters of faith, or in the substantial parts of God's worship. Secondly, the

church of England differs from the Roman church in the tenor of that obedience which she requires of her children in matter of rites or ceremonies, or in duties not essentially belonging to the service of God. For albeit the church of England in those cases demand present obedience unto her decrees, without *ifs* or
959 *ands*, or dilatory interposition of conditions; yet doth she not demand such absolute or perpetual obedience, as if she herself were exempt from all possibility of error in making laws concerning rites or ceremonies, or things indifferent. And in this she differs from the nonconformitant, in that she leaves it not free for her children to deny obedience, until she prove the rites commanded by her to be commanded by the law of God, but exacts present obedience, and that peremptorily; yet not absolute obedience, but obedience cautionary, or with a proviso, that if either time shall discover her injunctions to be inconvenient, she may repeal them (as being not ashamed to confess that she is not in these lesser points of ceremonies altogether infallible); or that if the parties of whom obedience is demanded can hereafter shew themselves exempted by the law of God from performance of obedience in any particular, it is free and safe for them to refuse it. But until they can discover some contradiction between the church laws and the laws of God, or can shew the matters commanded by the church's laws to be incompatible with some matters of God's law enjoined, all are bound to obey. Whilst the controversy lies betwixt private men, *affirmanti incumbit probatio;* but whilst superiors demand obedience of inferiors to public canons, *neganti incumbit probatio.*

CHAP. VII.

See the points proposed (to be discussed) in the beginning of the first paragraph; in the handling whereof there be several emergent questions disputed. Amongst others this, Whether, and how far, an usurper of regal power may be resisted, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth paragraphs. The order of superiority and subjection founded in nature: without government, no living in the world, parag. 4, 5, 6. *The Romanists' doctrine drawn from the example of Jehoiada's deposing Athalia, confuted, parag.* 14.

ROMANS XIII. 1, 2.

For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

§. 1. THE points to be discussed are three: first, what powers are here meant; secondly, in what sense the powers here meant are ordained of God; thirdly, what it is to resist these powers. Out of the discussion of these three points, a fourth will arise, which will easily be determined, if God shall enable us to determine these three points aright; and the fourth point is this, What damnation is here meant, whether temporal only, or both temporal and spiritual respectively.

The first, What powers are here meant, may well seem a needless demand, seeing the apostle's speech is universal: *There is no power but of God.* It would be more pertinent to inquire what power is, or how many sorts of power there be; if all power simply, or all kinds of power, be here meant. Yet to make inquiry after all the branches of real power, or after the divers acceptions of this word *power*, would better

960 befit a metaphysical reader in the schools, than a divine in the pulpit. For there is *potentia* or *potestas logica, physica, et mathematica;* a power logical, a power physical and mathematical; and all these so distinct, that a man may understand one of them aright, and be never a whit nearer the understanding the other. But to omit these, seeing the apostle speaks not of them, and yet speaks of all the degrees, sorts, or parts, of another power, which cannot be fully expressed by civil power. The word in the original is not ἴσχυς, or δύναμις, not strength of body, or vigour of motion, which may be far greater in thieves and robbers than in true men, much greater in wicked spirits than in men truly sanctified. For though it be universally true, that all physical power, or strength of body, or all power more than natural, is from God, yet the apostle's speech in this place must be restrained unto that power only whereunto we are commanded to be subject; but unto the power of thieves or robbers we are not commanded to be subject; and powers infernal we are commanded to resist. The word in the original is ἐξουσία, and this sometimes imports only an excellency of quality or dignity, no superiority of command or rule. So it is said John i. 12: *As many as received* the Son of God, *to them gave he* ἐξουσίαν, that is, this *privilege*, (title or dignity,) *to be called the sons of God.* For the wiser or more learned amongst the Romanists do grant, that freedom of will or power to make ourselves the sons of God cannot from this place be gathered. To be the sons of God is a dignity (as they grant) which Christ bestows upon believers.

§. 2. But by the same word ἐξουσία somewhat more is in this place meant than dignity of person, or excellency of quality only; unto which respect or reverence only is due, no subjection. To have been, as most of

these Romans (to whom our apostle writes) then were, *the sons of God,* was a greater dignity than to have been the Roman Cæsar; their spiritual excellency was much better than his temporal dignity. And yet they are commanded to be subject not to his majesty only, but to his deputies or vicegerent, to his inferior officers. The original notwithstanding is rightly rendered by the English word *power*, or the Latin *potestas*, and is to be understood of such excellency of person or dignity as hath a power of jurisdiction annexed unto it. There is then no power of jurisdiction but it is from God; all lawful jurisdiction or authority is the ordinance of God. All the degrees or branches of this power, though seated or planted in inferior magistrates, are ordained by God; and he that resisteth them *resisteth the ordinance of God,* as well as he that resisteth the supreme magistrate or higher powers. And for this reason some good interpreters have blamed the vulgar translation as somewhat partial or injurious to inferior magistrates, in rendering the precept of our apostle thus: *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus subdita sit—Let every soul be subject to the* sublimer *powers.* Whereas the apostle, in laying down the ground or reason of this precept, expressly saith, *The powers that be* (as well the lowest as the highest) *are ordained of God.* And for this reason every soul over which any power of jurisdiction is given ought to subject unto it.

§. 3. For your better apprehending of the second and the third points, which are most material, you are to distinguish between powers in the abstract, and the persons invested with the powers; or between the magistrate and the magistracy, whether supreme or subordinate; and between the magistracy as lawfully annexed to any person or persons, and the exercise of it

961 by the persons unto which it is so annexed. That the magistracy, or power of jurisdiction coercive over others, is from God, or God's ordinance, all Christian professors do grant, besides the anabaptist, who will not acknowledge that this coercive power or magistracy is any otherwise from God, or ordained by God, than murder, cruelty, and plagues are; none of which, as they acknowledge, can befall men without God's providence, or without his permission, or be without the reach of his Almighty power: but, if their doctrine were true, no man should resist God's ordinance, but such as directly and immediately resisted God himself, by fighting against him, or by repining or murmuring at his process, or sufferance of stronger powers to molest them. Now although it be true, that whosoever repines or murmurs against God in calamity, or calls his justice in question when he suffers manifest wrong by men, doth sin; yet many resist his ordinance, which never repine against God, nor call his justice in question, for suffering *higher powers* to molest or wrong them; but rather rejoice in that they hope God will enable them to resist such powers; and ofttimes pray to God for success in their resistance. Howbeit, by our apostle's doctrine in this place, men *resist the ordinance of God* by resisting *the higher powers*, with what mind soever they resist them; though with persuasion that God in thus doing will assist them, or albeit they offer the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving for their success or prevailing. Now men thus minded could not resist *the ordinance of God* by resisting *higher powers*, unless these powers, which they directly and expressly resist, were otherwise ordained by God than any violence, wrong, or mischief, which they suffer by the hands of men, are ordained by him. And out of all question, men resist the ordinance of

God in another sort, whilst they resist human laws or magistrates, than they do by resisting thieves or robbers, or whilst they seek medicines against the plague or pestilence. For no thief or robber can assault us, no cross or plague can befall us, nothing can hurt us, without the concourse or cooperation of God's power. And will any man say, that he which resists a thief, a robber, a rebel, or traitor, doth resist the ordinance of God, albeit no rebel or traitor can lift up his hand against his king or country without the general concourse of the hand of God? The conclusion then is undoubted, that *the higher powers* or magistracy are otherwise ordained by God than the power of thieves and robbers, or of prevailing rebels. For albeit neither of them can be without God's concourse or power, yet the one is by God's positive and primary ordinance, and hath that approbation from God which the other cannot attain.

§. 4. The second question is, After what manner *the higher powers* here meant are from God. First, this order of superiority and subjection is from God *mediante lege naturæ;* it is implanted in the heart of man as a branch of the law of nature, and goes somewhat deeper or further than the prints or relics of the image of God which remain in our corrupted nature. For of all visible creatures, man only was instamped with the image of God; whereas this order of superiority in some, and of subjection in others, is by a secret instinct of nature observed by creatures void of reason; by all such creatures as are sociable, that is, which flock, or herd, or sort together; and by divers fishes in the sea which go in shoals; by the cranes amongst the fowls of the air; and amongst domestic creatures, most remarkably by the bees. No man (as the philosopher observes) is by nature more sociable than the

bee; and the more sociable he is by nature, the more
962 natural and necessary to him is this order of superiority and subjection. The imperfection of man's corrupted nature makes the society and help of others more necessary to him than it is to any other creatures by nature sociable. For every one of them can more sufficiently provide each for himself, or for preservation of such life and estate as they are capable of, within the compass of one or few years, than any one most experienced man, albeit he should live in strength of body as long as Methusaleh did; so he desire to live but as a man, not as a beast. First, if we consider but the preparation of that food which is necessary to every one that will live as a man, this alone is a greater task than any one man can perform. To till the ground, that it may be a fit receptacle for seed; to prepare and sow the seed; to husband it being sown; to reap it being rightly husbanded; and after it is reaped to make it ready for man's eating, the help or ministry of many men is required. The help or ministry of as many is no less necessarily required for provision of such apparel and other necessaries as are requisite for him that will live as a man. And the more help that is in all these respects required for maintaining the life of man, the more strictly is every man bound, than other creatures are, to observe the rules of society with others of his own kind. And yet the greater need men have of society or of intercourse with others for providing things necessary, the more obnoxious they are than other creatures to strife and debate unquenchable, without some indifferent umpires, to quell, abate, or prevent them by the invention and execution of wholesome and indifferent laws. Every man's affections being principally set upon himself and his, there could be no hope of con-

cord between the affections or desires of several families without some *rector chori*, without some master musician to set them in tune when they jar. So then the imperfection of human nature, the necessity of society which this imperfection requires, and the occasions of discord which this necessity breeds, do all by God's providence and ordinance impel men to seek after and admit some power of jurisdiction which may compel or enforce all and every one to observe the rules of society in peace. And the power of jurisdiction or superiority in some one or few, necessarily implies a distinction of orders; of some to command, and others to obey.

§. 5. So natural is this order unto man, that our nature in its original integrity did not admit a parity between all that were or might have been partakers of the same uncorrupted nature. The woman, though created as a consort to man, had been subordinate to her husband; so had children been to their parents, though neither parents nor children had deserved punishment. So that this power of jurisdiction or superiority in some, and subjection in others, is in another sort the ordinance of God, than punishment or any other evil is. Again, after the fall of our first parents, Gen. iii. 16. the subjection of the woman unto her husband is by positive law enjoined. So is the subjection of children to their parents expressly enjoined in the fifth commandment; and so is obedience to civil magistrates, of what rank soever, in the same commandment, and elsewhere, expressly enjoined. And (as the philosopher observes) the regal power, which in process of time did spread itself over whole nations and countries, had its first root from that power which the fathers of families had over their children, their grandchildren,

and their posterity; which power did extend itself much further in ancient times than now it can, because the age of men was much longer, and mankind did multiply much faster than now it doth. As the sub-
963 ordination of divers persons to their father or first progenitor (as to one head) did make one tribe or family, so the subordination or subjection of divers tribes or families to one chief did make a kingdom. And how great soever a kingdom may be for circuit of lands, or multitude of persons, yet kingly authority and fatherly authority, as they are both the ordinance of God, differ not in nature or quality, but only in quantity or extent. For this reason the government royal is of all other kinds the most agreeable to nature, as taking its original most immediately from the course of nature. Howbeit it cannot be denied, but that in process of time, or continuation of descents from one prime or famous progenitor, worthy to govern all his progeny whilst he lived, there usually arose more several collateral families, which did grow nearer to a parity between themselves, than any of them had in comparison of their first founder or progenitor, or than had been between such as first descended from him. So that no one of them was held fit to bear rule or sovereignty over all the rest, but all were well fitted for a social league or confederacy. And from this root of nature did spring aristocracy, or the form of government by peers and nobles. And this kind of government, as also the popular government, may be continued either by inheritance or right of descent, or by annual magistrate, or magistrates chosen for term of life

§. 6. Of what kind soever the government be, or upon what condition soever the magistrates be chosen

or admitted, or howsoever their power be limited, the power or magistracy is from God, is the ordinance of God, and may not be resisted. That this nation should be governed by a king, another by peers and nobles, another by the people, or by magistrates of the people's choosing, either annual or for term of life, this is not determined *jure divino*, by any express or positive law of God, but is reserved unto the guidance of his ordinary providence, who sometimes directs one people or nation to make choice of this form, another to make choice of that. But the choice of government being made by the people, or imposed upon them by right of war, to yield obedience to the form of government or of power established, this is *de jure divino*, positively and peremptorily determined and enjoined by the law of God. And whosoever doth resist the form of government established in the commonweal whereof he is a member, be it of this form or that, he doth resist *the higher powers*, and, by resisting them, *resisteth the ordinance of God.*

§. 7. But doth this rule of our apostle hold as punctually of the magistrate as of the magistracy? Doth every one which resists the magistrate, or men invested with the power of jurisdiction, resist the ordinance of God as directly, or in as high a degree, as he that resists the power itself wherewith he is invested, or as he that seeks to overthrow the magistracy? It is the observation of St. Chrysostom and of Œcumenius upon this place, that St. Paul doth not say that there is no magistrate but from God, or that the magistrates that be, be ordained by God, but that there is no power which is not from God, and that *the powers which be are ordained of God;* that he purposely speaks, not of this or that magistrate in particular, or of the persons unto whom the power is annexed, *sed de re ipsa*, but

of the power itself. But here a man might well demand of them, Is there any power here meant by the apostle which is not inherent in some men's persons? Is there any magistracy without a magistrate? Or how can the power be resisted, unless the party be resisted in whom it is seated? And however St. Paul's
964 form of speech here run in the abstract, and directly points at the power itself or magistracy, yet in the verses following he speaks as directly of the person unto whom the power is annexed; and St. Peter expressly enjoins obedience unto the king and his deputies, as unto ordinances, though made by men, yet approved by God; so approved, that whoso resisteth them *resisteth the ordinance of God.* Nero the Roman emperor, in whose days St. Paul wrote, and under whose government these Romans lived unto whom this precept is in particular directed, was as wicked an emperor, as cruel a tyrant, an enemy as malicious to Jews or Christians, as any that hath borne rule in any nation since; yet seeing he was invested with imperial or royal power, these Romans (as all other Christians which lived within the Roman empire) were by God's law enjoined to acknowledge subjection and perform sincere obedience to him. And St. Paul himself (though invested with power apostolical) was contented to appeal unto his tribunal in case of justice. So then the point is clear that subjection is due as well to wicked magistrates, as to the power or magistracy which is lawful and just, and from God.

§. 8. For resolution of doubts that may arise in men's minds about the acquisition or exercise of power, as whether power unjustly gotten or unjustly exercised be God's ordinance, the former observation of St. Chrysostom and Œcumenius is not impertinent; and according to their meaning or intention we may

say, that our apostle's rule doth not so punctually hold of the means or acquisition of the power, or the exercise of it, as it doth of the power or magistracy itself. Or more fully thus: Albeit the power or magistracy, of what rank soever, (be it royal, imperial, aristocratical, or popular,) be always God's positive and primary ordinance, always an effect of his gracious providence, always a blessing towards any land or people, or the award of his antecedent will; yet the manner of acquiring this power, or the annexing it to this or that person, one or more, is not always the positive ordinance of God; no effect of his bounty or benignity; no consequent of his antecedent will; but sometimes rather the award of his consequent will, and an act, at least permissive, of his punitive justice. Again; albeit the manner of acquiring this power be just and lawful, as ordained and appointed by God; yet the exercise of the power thus gotten may ofttimes be no part of God's positive or primary ordinance; no gift of his bounty or blessing upon his people, but rather the exercise of his punitive justice. And in both these senses God is said to give kings in his wrath, to suffer tyrants to bear rule over his people. Some kings by lawful succession or election, through the permission of his providence, or of his punitive justice, rule not according to his ordinance, but tyrannically. This falls out often, yet not always, not for the most part. But of usurpers or tyrants by title, the historian's censure is most general; *Imperium malis artibus acquisitum nemo unquam bene exercuit.* He that will become dishonest for the gaining of supreme authority, will never be extraordinarily honest or honourable in the use or exercise of it. How much more Christian was the observation of this heathen Roman politician, than is the doctrine of the modern Roman Christian, or of

the principal faction in that church, the Jesuits, or jesuited Romanists, who are not ashamed to maintain it as an article of faith, that such as can be content to become devils incarnate for getting the popedom, shall become saints in the use or exercise of it.
965 But by what means soever the election be wrought, by simony, by necromancy, or what manner of life soever the pope shall lead after he be solemnly elected, he shall notwithstanding exercise authority apostolical as infallibly, and as beneficially for the good of the church, as St. Peter did. Not only his power must be reputed the ordinance of God, but all his cathedral doctrines or constitutions must be believed as the oracles of the Holy Ghost. Not to believe or obey his decrees is a great deal more than to resist the ordinance of God. But with the impiety of this opinion, and with the dangerous consequences of the pope's supposed infallibility, I have heretofore acquainted you.

§. 9. Three knots yet remain concerning the third point proposed. The first, How far any man which without just title doth take upon him, and by fraud or violence gets opportunity to exercise, royal authority over others, may be resisted. The second, Whether he that is by just title invested with royal power may be resisted in the unjust or tyrannical exercise of it. To these two questions the answer hath been long since given by some moral philosophers, and approved of by best divines. First, he which is a mere usurper, or a tyrant by title, may be resisted by violence, even to deposition or death, albeit he happen to exercise his power with such moderation as would become a just and lawful king. He that is a king or supreme magistrate by just and lawful title may not be thus resisted, albeit he exercise his power tyrannically. Touching the former, it is a truth unquestionable, that

a tyrant by title, or a mere usurper of supreme power, or an intruder into the office royal, may be resisted without resisting the ordinance of God; and the reason is plain, for that he could never usurp or continue his power otherwise than by resisting some higher powers, or without resisting the ordinance of God. First, if he usurp authority royal or monarchical over such as have been formerly governed by power aristocratical or democratical, that is, either by peers, or by magistrates chosen out of the people, he doth resist these powers which are in that people supreme, and were ordained by God. Or in case he usurp or exercise royal authority over such as have been formerly governed either by royal succession or by kings elective, he openly resists power much higher than his own, whether this power be yet actually annexed to some known persons that have right or title to the kingdom by succession, or whether in defect of the ancient royal issue the supreme power of electing or making kings have reverted to the peers or people that are to be governed. Lawful it is either for those persons in whom the right and title to the kingdom resides, or for those to whom the right of electing kings in defect of right heirs appertains, not only to resist, but to depose or condemn an usurper, or one that hath invested himself with royal power without just title to it, or by means unlawful.

§. 10. So then a tyrant or usurper may be deposed or resisted; but thus resisted or deposed he may not be by every man which knows him to be an usurper. For a man may transgress this rule of our apostle, and resist God's ordinance, by resisting the power wherewith he is invested, though not simply by resisting him. *Aliud est magistratum esse, aliud est in magi-*

stratu esse, aut magistratum gerere: "It is one thing to be a true or lawful magistrate, another thing to bear or execute the office of a true magistracy." The acts of a false magistrate or intruder whilst he is *in magistratu*, in the office itself, are of validity. His person is to be obeyed, not resisted, by every man
966 until he be declared to be an usurper or intruder by some higher power or authority. Few tyrants or usurpers have gotten investiture or admission to royal power by more indirect means than Richard the Third in this kingdom did; yet many acts or exercises of royal power, though proceeding from him, were legal, and of validity. Nor did they resist the ordinance of God that bore offices under him, that obeyed his summons, whether for parliament or other business of state. It had been a sin for any private man of his own head to have killed him, albeit all the space of his reign he did resist the ordinance of God; for every man is not an avenger of such as resist the ordinance of God; this belongs unto *the higher powers* only, or unto them to whom the supreme power is by right annexed. And so Henry of Richmond was authorized by God's ordinance to execute vengeance, or bring condemnation upon this tyrant, which every one might not have done, which perhaps no other might have done, save only in his right or interest, and by his commission and command.

§. 11. The third question is, Whether he which is lawfully invested with some power which is ordained by God (whether supreme or subordinate) may be resisted, not in the exercise of it over such as belong to his jurisdiction, but in extending it unto others which are by right exempted from it.

The power which Pilate had in Judæa was from

God; it was ordained by God. And whether out of this notion, or out of a general persuasion that his power was lawful, he expostulates with our Saviour, John xix. 10: *Speakest thou not unto me? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power to release thee?* But our Saviour answered, *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* And if this power were given him from above, was it not lawful for him to put this power in execution? Surely those men were very ill advised which brought this place to prove that ecclesiastical persons, of what rank or quality soever, (seeing none can be greater or better than their Master,) are subject to the civil power, or that the superiority of the laity above the clergy is here authorized: I am the bolder to give you notice of this unadvised collection, because the parties which make or favour it do wrong the laity, or civil power, much more than the clergy; for if the civil power (be it royal or subordinate) were no otherwise from God than this power which at this time was given to Pilate from above over our Saviour, the exercise of this power over any clergyman could neither be ordinary nor usual, but at some special times only, when it should please God to permit or give some extraordinary dispensation. The exercise of Pilate's power, though given at this time by special dispensation from above, was no part of God's ordinance, but a branch of satanical power (or such power as God gave Satan over his servant Job); of that power which at this time, and at no other, out of God's love to mankind, was permitted to the prince and powers of darkness. Thus much our Saviour in this very answer, and in his answer to such as apprehended him, did import; *Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves? when I was*

daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness. Luke xxii. 52, 53. To put this power in execution Pilate (though in some sort against his will) was in conclusion wrought upon by the malicious Jews; and therefore cannot be excused, though more excusable than these Jews, as our Saviour intimates in his answer to him; *Therefore he that delivered me*
967 *unto thee hath the greater sin.* John xix. 11. He was not without sin in being the Jews' instrument to put the powers of darkness (with whom they had entered confederacy) in execution upon him. And no man, I think, will deny, that Pilate, by exercising this power, did resist the highest power in heaven and earth. That message which his wife sent to him, *Have thou nothing to do with that just man,* was from the Lord; and in not hearkening unto her counsel he did resist *the ordinance of God.* By reason of this extraordinary permission or dispensation at this time granted to the powers of darkness, our Saviour was so far from resisting it, that he did not (as at other times) seek to escape it. Such obedience or subjection as our Saviour now exhibited both to the temporal and ecclesiastic power, the meanest subject of any nation doth not owe unto the exercise of any power ecclesiastic or civil, whether supreme or subordinate. No man is bound to expose himself unto the punishments which just laws inflict, but only not to resist the hand of justice when the eye of justice hath found him out, and the mouth of justice given sentence upon him.

§. 12. The power which the high priest exercised in apprehending our Saviour was unjust and satanical; was it therefore lawful for Christ's disciples to resist it? To oppose violence unto it was unlawful. And if Peter had continued to do as he begun, he had fallen

under the sanction of this law, *They that resist shall receive damnation.* And so our Saviour did forewarn him: *Put up thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.* Doth this instance, or any other in scripture like unto it, infer, (that which some would hence collect, to wit,) that it is not lawful for such as Peter was, a clergyman, and one of Christ's disciples, to resist violence, or to protect the innocent, though with the effusion of blood? No; this instance (as the former) was peculiar to these times, to Peter's condition of life, and our Saviour's purpose at this time, to suffer all the indignities which the powers of darkness could devise against him. Thus much our Saviour gives us, to wit, in his answer to Peter: *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be*[a]? Neither this instance, nor any other of sacred writ, doth prohibit any man, in that he is a clergyman or priest, from using all the lawful means or remedies, either in his own defence or for the defence of the innocent, which any other good Christian may use. There was a time wherein it was unlawful for Peter (though not as yet fully consecrated to his priestly function) to defend his Lord and Master (over whom no prince on earth could lawfully exercise any authority coercive) by the sword, or opposition of violence; and yet there was a time wherein it was lawful for Jehoiada (a consecrated high priest) not only to resist the violence of Athalia, who had gotten possession of the royal sceptre, but to put her to a violent death. Was this lawful only to the high priests of the law, but in no case lawful to priests or prelates of the

[a] Matt. xxvi. 53, 54.

gospel? Yes; if the times and occasions were the same, the like practice would as well become a priest or prelate under the gospel, as it did the priest of the law.

§. 13. One sort of men there is, which, by the example of our Saviour and St. Peter, by the practice of bishops and ministers in the primitive church, would debar the ministers of the gospel from all intermeddling with the affairs of the commonweal, or of such privileges or dignities as other subjects are capable of. But of these men I might say, as our Saviour doth in
968 another case, *either make the tree good and the fruit good, or the fruit bad and the tree bad.* If heathens they be in heart and affection, or desire to have the commonweal wherein they live continue heathenish, their doctrine is Christian, and would be so followed by Christian ministers. But if Christians they be in heart, and desire the commonweals wherein they live may be, not as Agrippa was, *propemodum*, not *almost* but *altogether Christian*, they speak like heathens. Christian emperors, who took themselves to be supreme governors in all causes, and over all persons, did use the assistance of their clergy more than of any other in their chief consultations, as well of war as of peace. And either corrected or fashioned their temporal laws (which their heathenish predecessors had made) unto the ancient canons of the church which the clergy had made, whilst they lived under heathen emperors.

§. 14. Another sort of men there be, the factors for the modern Romish church, which draw more dangerous doctrine from the example of Jehoiada, than the others did from the example of our Saviour, of St. Peter, and of the practice of the primitive church: because Jehoiada was the high priest, and did depose

Athaliah, therefore, say they, the church, that is, the pope, or high priest of the New Testament, hath power to depose kings and emperors. This foolish collection, though often answered and retorted, the Author of the Prelate and Prince is not ashamed to resume; but how unfitly and prejudicially to the cause which he maintains, the dissimilitude or contrariety of the pope's practices and Jehoiada's will easily inform you. First, Jehoiada, in that he was high priest, was a prime peer in the realm of Judah, and invested with power of jurisdiction next in order and dignity to the power royal. Secondly, the power royal, or supreme, was by right, by the express ordinance and positive law of God, annexed unto the infant prince whom Jehoiada's wife had saved from the tyranny of Athaliah, as being next heir now alive unto David. In the right of this prince, and for the actual annexion of the supreme power unto his person, (unto whom it was *de jure* annexed,) Jehoiada, being the chief magistrate in the vacancy, did by force and violence depose her who had usurped the royal sceptre by violence and cruel murder of the seed royal. Is it then all one, in these men's divinity, for a subject or peer of any realm to stand for the right of his liege lord, and for the ancient liberties of his native country, against a stranger or usurper? and for a stranger, no native member or part of this or the like Christian commonweal, to throw down the lawful king from his throne? or to authorize his subjects or others to do to him as Jehoiada did to Athaliah, and to bring in a stranger or alien, as he cast out a stranger or usurper? The cases are as unlike and contrary as two cases can be. The practice of Jehoiada, and the occasions of it, would rather prove that the archbishop of Canterbury or York, or other loyal prelate of this kingdom, might

execute the pope's nuncio, or any that should bring an excommunication against the king, or come armed with papal power to absolve the king's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, or to usurp or challenge any authority, or exercise any jurisdiction in this land; and as nominating of bishops, bestowing dignities, or the like, which belong unto the crown and sceptre of this kingdom; and may not be practised by any without leave or license of the supreme majesty. If it should please the supreme power of this kingdom to delegate such power of jurisdiction over foreign intruders to any prelate within his dominions, to every prelate within his diocese, the power dele-
969 gated should be God's ordinance, the manner of annexing it, though to persons ecclesiastic, should be God's ordinance, and the exercise of such power, even to the taking away of life, would be warrantable by the like practice of Jehoiada. But this I speak not as if I wished any such power might be delegated to bishops and prelates, but only to give you notice (by the way) that there is no argument that can be drawn from the example of our Saviour, of our apostles, or from bishops or pastors, within three hundred years after Christ, but will conclude as much against all Christians of what rank soever, as against clergymen in particular, for intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms or commonweals. For no Christians within these times might so much as take arms in their own defence, and yet many served in the wars in defence of their heathen governors.

For conclusion; we of this land are bound above all others to bless God for that our supreme magistracy is of the best form, not only in that it is the ordinance of God, but that the annexion of it to his royal person in whom it resides is likewise the or-

dinance of God: a blessing of God, and a pledge of his mercy and bounty. What then remains, but that we daily beseech God so to direct his heart for the exercise of this supreme power, that it likewise may be the approved ordinance of God; that he may always be, not only the executioner of God's wrath or punitive justice against evil doers, but the distributer and almoner of mercy and bounty to his people that do well.

CHAP. VIII.

This sermon was preached upon the fifth of November, as appears §. 5, 6, and 7. What it is to resist, §. 2. The difference betwixt nonobedience, disobedience, and resistance. Two signal queries propounded in the end of the seventh paragraph: answered in the eighth.

ROM. XIII. 2.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

§. 1. My intended exposition of this text is haply prevented with some men's censure of it or me, as if it did not suit so well with the solemnity of this present day as divers others might have done, of which there is choice (as we say) God's plenty in this book of God. Howbeit (in my opinion) no portion of scripture suits better with these present times, whereof this day is a part, than this doth. And how well it fits in particular, as well the first institution as the present solemnity, will better appear upon the opening or unfolding of it. The most, as well of the single terms or words, as of the propositions, contained in these two verses, have been explicated at large before. As, first, it hath been explicated what powers are here meant; not civil only, but ecclesiastic as well as civil; not

ecclesiastic coercive only, but power merely spiritual; and that obedience is due to all these powers respectively, *not for fear of punishment only, but for conscience sake.* Of the distinction of these powers; of
970 their subordination one to another; of their coordination or combination within the same sovereignty, free state, or kingdom; and in what sense all powers respectively are said to be from God, hath been discussed at several times; so that there now remain only two terms or words to be unfolded: first, what it is to resist; secondly, what judgment or condemnation here is meant, whether temporal, or eternal as well as temporal; the apostle's conclusion seems peremptory—*They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* First, what it is to resist.

§. 2. Some there be (very good expositors in their kind) which have put no difference in this place between *non obedire* and *resistere;* as if not to obey the higher powers were to resist them. Yet for our more clear apprehension of the apostle's full meaning, we may distinguish between these three, nonobedience, disobedience, and resistance. True it is, that 'whosoever doth resist the higher powers doth disobey them;' and as true again, that 'whosoever disobeys them doth not obey them.' But these propositions, though most true, yet are not (as we say in schools) convertible. The truth of them is not the same backwards and forwards, as it is but one and the same way from this town to London, and from London to this town. There may be a nonobedience without disobedience, and there may be a disobedience without resistance. Unto the highest powers on earth we may in some cases refuse or deny obedience without any touch of sin. Disobedience always includeth or presupposeth some sin; and so doth resistance in this place include

an higher degree of sin than mere disobedience without participation of resistance doth.

§. 3. The sanhedrim, synagogue, or visible church of the Jews, (the highest power coercive in causes ecclesiastic then on earth, unto whose doctrine our Saviour himself had commanded obedience and observance,) did twice convent and command the apostles *not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus. But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.* Acts iv. 18—20. And unto the like charge or command laid upon them again by the same powers, Peter and the other apostles replied, *We ought to obey God rather than men.* Thus resolute they were not to obey these higher powers, whom yet they did not disobey, much less resist (as resistance is here taken): for they were willing to suffer whatsoever these powers were ready to inflict upon them, without opposition of contrary force or violence. This their passive obedience, or submission of their bodies unto their authority, unto which they would not subject their consciences, doth exempt their nonobedience, or denial of obedience active, from all just censure or imputation of disobedience. For disobedience, in its lowest degree, supposeth a denial of obedience to higher powers in cases wherein obedience is due, and all is one whether the obedience denied be active or passive. Denial of obedience active, in cases wherein it is due, is properly a disobedience, but a disobedience without resistance. Obedience passive can hardly be denied without flight or resistance. Obedience passive in the former cases was due from the apostles themselves to those governors of the church or common-

weal ecclesiastic. And therefore they did not deny this obedience, but willingly submitted their bodies unto stripes and imprisonment, even whilst they so
971 resolutely and peremptorily denied active obedience, that is, forbearance to *teach in the name of Jesus.* In this point, to have obeyed them had been to have disobeyed God. Now seeing God is the highest and only supreme power, there can be no denial of obedience, no nonobedience unto him without sin. No man can sin in obeying him, albeit in obeying him he expressly deny obedience to higher powers. He that appeals from the sentence of an inferior court doth not obey the sentence, and yet he doth not disobey it, so the matter of his appeal be just, and the manner of prosecution legal. But not to undergo the just and legal censure of any inferior court, unto whose jurisdiction we are subject, without appealing unto some higher court, is to disobey the higher powers, albeit no open resistance be made. Who then are properly said to resist the higher powers? they which oppose either force or violence against the execution of their decrees, or else implore the aid and assistance of some other contrary authority, (unto which the higher powers, which exercised jurisdiction over them, is not subordinate,) to control or confront the decrees themselves, or any way to debase or prejudice the authority by which they are made.

§. 4. Now it is to be presumed, that all higher powers, specially the highest earthly powers, will carry a more watchful eye and awful hand over all such as are prone to make this resistance. And hence it is, that judgment or damnation temporal doth not more frequently befall any sort of malefactors than it doth the rebellious or seditious. So that our apostle's threatenings or forewarnings, indefinitely taken, are most pertinently true in respect of judgment or damna-

tion temporal—*They that resist shall receive damnation.* Or in case some disobedient and rebellious spirits escape the hands of civil justice, or set themselves beyond or above the reach of the higher powers which they resist, yet *the right hand of the Lord shall find them out.* But as for judgment or damnation eternal, that is no otherwise awarded by the supreme Judge unto the seditious or rebellious, than it is to other malefactors or grievous transgressors. The sentence of damnation denounced against the disobedient or seditious becomes dispensable or indispensable, the doom is avoidable or unavoidable, according to the transgressor's penitency or impenitency in his sins. Disobedience indeed is as the sin of witchcraft, and resistance, which always presupposeth disobedience to higher powers, is a sin always damnable in the judgment of God and man; yet are both sins not altogether unpardonable, they are not like the sin against the Holy Ghost. And thus much briefly of the two general doctrinal points proposed—what it is to resist the higher powers, and how far such as resist them are liable to damnation, whether temporal or eternal.

§. 5. Now to examine, first, the attempts or practices of some Romish catholics (as they term themselves) against the highest powers in this kingdom, as upon this day; secondly, the doctrine of the modern Romish church, as it is now professed by the Jesuits, the chief agents for that church's authority, and principal authors of resistance to all higher powers which will not acknowledge the power of the Romish church to be the highest and most supreme on earth, according to these rules of our apostle in this place. The principle wherein the Romish church, the Jesuits, and we agree, is this; that none may resist the higher powers; that obedience, at least

passive, or submission of the outward man, of our bodies, lives, and estates, is due unto the higher powers: the question is, (as you have heard before,) which be the highest powers on earth. The highest
972 court of this kingdom, that is, the parliament, which consists as well of ecclesiastic as civil power, had by a sovereign law, ratified by the royal assent of three kings and one queen, subjected all persons, as well temporal as spiritual, to the jurisdiction of the prince or sovereign for the time being; and all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, to the cognizance of the courts within this realm, established by parliamentary power, or the prerogative royal. The same supreme power, for many years before that furious attempt (as upon this day) made against the highest powers of this kingdom, had laid a necessity upon all the subjects of this realm to conform themselves unto the doctrine of the church herein established. For not obeying the supreme power of this kingdom in points of religion or church discipline, the Roman catholics of this kingdom (as some others most opposite to them do) pretend the liberty of conscience. And if the Romanists had only denied the performance of active obedience in matter of mere religion, or could have rested within the limits of pure nonobedience, until their consciences had been better informed, they rather deserved pity than present punishment or condemnation. But if this their refusal of active obedience to all or any of these laws, by sovereign authority enacted against them, had truly proceeded from mere conscience, rather than from mere pretence of conscience, the same rule of conscience which did withhold them from performance of active obedience in the things by higher powers commanded, would as forcibly have swayed them to yield passive obedience, that is, to

have submitted their bodies, their goods, or other externals, unto the censure of higher powers, without any attempt of resistance. We may then conclude, that it was not pure conscience, nor mere nonobedience unto the higher powers of this kingdom, but the spirit of faction, of disobedience and rebellion, which moved them unto such violent and before unheard of resistance. And, God's name be ever praised, that the violence or resistance attempted by them was never heard in its own voice or language intended by them. This terrible resistance was not directed only against the execution of decrees or laws made against them—it was not levelled against the inferior ministers of justice only, but against the supreme powers of this kingdom themselves—against the authors of justice—against the seat of justice—against the very fountain of justice, from which all power coercive that can lawfully be exercised within this land, must be derived. But these men haply (will some say) did thus far proceed out of their private pride, or in the boiling heat of discontented passions, without all ground or probable pretence of that religion which they professed, that many of them, though not all of them, were men of high spirits, men passionate and discontented, though more discontented than passionate, cannot be denied: for if they had not been such, their understandings, their birth, ingenuous education, and other good qualities, would have withheld them from drinking so deep of the Romish cup, or from swallowing the dregs of Romish religion in such measure as they did. But taking them as they were, that is, men discontented, yet well affected to the church of Rome, their attempt or practice against the state, as upon this day, was but such a descant upon the grounds of Romish religion, (as it is now taught,) as most

men of their disposition for religion, though of meaner birth or spirit, or less discontented than they were, will be ready to make, whensoever opportunity (specially seconded with hope of applause) shall be offered. Their very attempt, or project itself, was but a real
973 use or practical comment upon the doctrinal part of my text, framed in the speculative doctrine of the Romish church. And thus much will clearly appear to any that will compare the model with the mould.

§. 6. The plot or practice was by Catesby and his complices—whether explicitly or implicitly I will not say—thus moulded within the narrow circumference of this my text: *They that resist the higher powers, shall receive to themselves judgment or damnation;* for God hath said so by St. Paul, and he will be as good as his word. 'But the king and state of England, the lords spiritual and temporal, with the commonalty, the whole body representative of the kingdom, by enacting and not repealing severe laws against the Roman catholics, have shamefully resisted the higher powers:' *ergo,* 'They shall and must receive to themselves damnation.' So confident they were in these and the like collections, that they presumed God Almighty was fully concluded in the syllogism, and was bound, by the laws of logic and of justice, to put to his helping hand for the speedy execution of that vengeance upon our king, upon the state and kingdom, which their malicious and misinformed consciences had projected. Out of this confident presumption, one of the conclave or vault-council waxed bold to admonish his honourable friend, whose exemption from the common destruction he wished, to absent himself from the present parliament, because God and man had concurred to give a terrible blow unto the iniquity of these times. He might, (according to the

principles of his catechism and religion,) so his leisure and memory had served him, have added, unto the iniquity of that place wherein the parliament was to be kept. For so his master and archplotter, after much agitation and variety of projects for procuring the liberty of Roman catholics, by taking away the king and his race, had before resolved, that there was no PLACE so fit for the execution of what they intended as the house of parliament, because in that place the impious laws (so he termed them) were enacted by which the Roman catholics were restrained from using the liberty of their consciences. This was the sum of Catesby's resolution. But God in his wisdom and justice did bring that very head, (the shell of that politic but infatuated brain,) which was the author of this device, for planting the forts of their resistance against this palace of justice and fountain of power coercive, for this church and kingdom's good, to be placed as a perpetual spectacle of terror and shame upon the top of that house, whose foundations and roof, with all the neighbour palaces and lodgings adjoining, he and his fellows hoped in an instant to have defaced and razed. And even so, O Lord, make all thine enemies, even all the enemies of thy gospel and of this kingdom's peace, to perish; bring all their devices to a fearful and a shameful end. As for the eye which waiteth for the destruction of the church and state, let the ravens of the valley (or brook) pluck it out; let the fowls of the air feed upon their flesh; let the wild bees make their hives in their skulls, and the wasps their nests in the brains of them which shall plot the like mischief against this state and kingdom, or attempt the like resistance against the higher powers which by thine ordinance are placed over us.

§. 7. Another remarkable document of God's justice upon these resisters of his ordinance there is, which hath been observed by many, which cannot be too often repeated or reobserved, because never to be forgotten by us or by our successors; and it was this: that God should make those very elements or crea-
974 tures, which these rebellious resisters of higher powers had consecrated as their instruments for blowing up the state and kingdom, to be the heralds or forerunners of that damnation which from his hands they shortly were to receive unto themselves. Those four which died desperately by the bullet or shot, might have seen all hopes of further resistance utterly blasted by the strange disaster which a little before had befallen four of their principal associates, in whose visages, strangely disfigured by gunpowder, they might (unless their hearts had been blinded) have read the destiny of themselves and of their plot; that shame and confusion of face was decreed to them, to their associates, and abettors. All these eight, with other their associates, did receive damnation temporal to themselves. Their death was fearful and shameful, and their memory is had in everlasting abomination: so admirably did the wisdom of God falsify and invert that conclusion which they had made unto themselves out of my text. Two queries yet remain: the first, whether the like resistance be yet intended or included in the doctrine of the Romish church, or in the commentaries of Jesuits, or Jesuited Romanists upon my text? the second, how far we may hope or expect that all such as in times ensuing shall actually intend or attempt the like resistance against this church and state shall receive to themselves the like damnation?

§. 8. To the first query: I could not have conceived [illegible], nor durst I so boldly have avouched what

I conceived, unless I had found the case, though not in this very particular, yet in the general, discussed at large by one of their own writers, whose writings were purposely intended for resolving the consciences of English catholics. Many of you know, and the rest of you may easily suffer yourselves to be informed, that upon the fresh and serious apprehension of the inestimable danger whereunto the king and kingdom, as upon this day, was brought, by those disobedient resisting Romanists, the oath of allegiance was by the advice and consent of just authority conceived. The end or intention of the oath was to secure our king, our church, and state from the like conspiracies, under pretence of zeal or affection to the Romish religion: yet is this oath strongly oppugned by the chief agents for that church, as unlawful to be either given or taken, especially to be taken by Roman catholics. In this general principle the Romish church and we agree, that the civil Christian magistrate may lawfully exact an oath of such as are subject to his jurisdiction; kings, especially of their subjects, for the safety of themselves, of their posterity, or kingdoms. Both we and the Romanist condemn the anabaptist for denying the public use of solemn oaths amongst Christians. We both agree likewise, that every lawful oath must be given and taken, in truth, in justice, in judgment; and so given and taken, as Jeremy iv. 2, prescribes. It is so far from being unlawful, that it is a part of God's honour. Where then is the difference? The Romanists contend that this oath of allegiance wants all these three properties of a lawful and religious oath; although if it want but any one of them, it were unlawful and irreligious. First, then, in their divinity and religion, it is false to say or think that the pope, neither by himself, nor by virtue of the see of Rome,

hath any power or lawful authority to depose the king of Great Britain, or to dispose of his kingdoms; therefore he that swears to this clause in the oath cannot swear in truth: and if he be a Roman catholic he incurreth the sin of perjury. Now he that doth not swear this in truth cannot swear in justice; for if it be true that the pope hath (or in many cases may
975 have) power to depose the king of Great Britain, or to dispose of his kingdoms; to swear the contradictory must needs be an open wrong to the pope, a manifest injustice to the apostolic see. Lastly, albeit men might be morally persuaded of the truth in this clause contained, to which they swear, yet an oath is not to be given or taken for confirmation of every truth, but of some special truths, or upon some weighty occasions, or to some good purpose. Oaths without this observance can neither be exacted nor given in judgment. This last, in general, is true; but from this general which we grant, they erroneously assume that this oath of allegiance wants the third property of a lawful oath, to wit, judgment, as well on the behalf of the proposer, that is, of the king and state, as on the behalf of them to whom it is tendered. But why cannot this oath be proposed or tendered in judgment? Some late Romanists stick not to publish in print, what others upon the first proposal of this oath did secretly mutter, to wit, that the king or state can have no security by this oath from the like attempts or conspiracies against their persons or dignities. To this purpose, a late English Romanist hath penned a saucy lecture of modern Rome's Christian divinity, and of Rome heathen's ancient policy unto his late sovereign lord (as he instyles him) king James of famous memory; (but as oft as any English priest or Jesuit so instyles their native kings they do but mock them,

and might lawfully by every temporal magistrate be whipped and scourged for this their mockery;) but in words to this or like effect, this saucy companion writes, as if king James had been to be catechised by him in point of state or religion: "As St. Paul saith, Rom. xiii. *Vis non timere potestatem* &c.? so say I, if princes will be free from all fear of the pope's power, let them do good, and they shall have praise before God and men; for the pope is appointed pastor unto them for their good: but if they will do evil, if they will persecute the church, her faith, and faithful children, then let them fear, for he is God's minister, and hath the spiritual glaive put into his hand, to chastise and correct all rebellious Christians. And therefore, as he that taketh a man's purse from him by violence hath no just cause to compel him to swear that he will not bewray him, because he might and should have abstained from the injury, and then an oath had not been necessary; so the prince or magistrate hath no urgent cause to propose this oath to the catholic subject, because if he abstain from persecution, as he ought to do, he needeth not fear the pope's power, and so hath no sufficient cause to urge his subjects by oath to abjure the pope's authority, that he in the mean while may persecute *impunè*[d]." And again: "That this oath cannot secure the king, it is manifest, because the most that take this oath take it against their conscience, and not so much out of opinion as for fear; yea, they think they do ill in taking it, and consequently they think they are not bound to observe the same; for to swear to do an evil thing, and after to fulfil the oath, is a double sin; one in swearing, another in fulfilling[e]." And again: "I know the poli-

[d] The author of the Prelate and Prince, p. 267, 268.
[e] Ibid. p. 268.

ticians say, *Oderint, dum metuant*, 'Let them hate, so they fear also[f]:' but yet true is that which Seneca, a no less expert politician allegeth, *Necesse est ut multos timeat, quem multi timent*, 'He must of necessity fear many, who causeth many to fear him:' because, as Cicero saith, *quem metuunt, oderunt*, 'men hate whom they fear.' And what security hath a prince amongst them that hate him? When subjects hate their prince, they are discontented; when they are discontented, they are desperate; when they are desperate, they care not for their own lives; when they care not for their own lives, let then the prince fear his. For (as Seneca saith) *qui suam vitam contemnit, tuæ*
976 *dominus erit*, 'he that contemneth his own life will be master of thine.' And from this source proceeded the late gunpowder plot. For conclusion: what a strong guard, what armies can do to defend a prince that is hated, we have seen by the example of the two Henries, the third and fourth of France, whereof the first was killed by a silly friar, the other by a poor companion, in the midst of their armies." And so the third condition required to propose this oath, which is judgment that dictateth that an oath is neither to be proposed nor taken without just cause, is wanting.

§. 9. As for him that slew Henry the Fourth, the French king, how mean a man soever he was, it skills not. It is well known that he took his lesson from a Spanish Jesuit of no mean note, from Mariana, a man famous in his country for writing the Spanish history, and famous in the Romish church for his comments upon the Bible. And by this famous Jesuit's instructions, in what cases and how kings may be killed, neither Ravilliac nor any other private man was to meddle with Henry the Fourth, the French

[f] The author of the Prelate and Prince, p. 269, 270.

king, nor with any other king, without the warrant or direction of some higher powers ecclesiastic. Concerning the death of Henry the Third, some Roman catholics think it was an act of God's own special contrivance: so Fitzherbert tells us (who was then present in the French court) that the watchword given to those that by the appointment of Henry the Third slew the duke of Guise was *St. Clement*, and this king was afterward, by God's special providence, slain by a Jacobin friar whose name was *James Clement*. But the truth of both observations being granted, may we not demand, as David in another case did, was not the finger of some more subtle Joab (some greater agent for the Romish church than a Jacobin friar) in all this business? James Clement, we deny not, was God's instrument in bringing his judgments upon Henry the Third, and yet might for his very name's sake be chosen or appointed so to do by some great commander in causes ecclesiastic, and so chosen to this end, that the church might cast a fair colour upon this murder, as if it had been brought about both by God's immediate providence and approbation, without any other consultation or contrivance of men, besides such as secret instinct did privately suggest unto this poor friar. This is a mystery of that religion which will not suffer itself to lie any longer hid, that even such plots and devices as have been conceived in the nethermost hell, and have been acted by the agents of hell, if once they take success for the church's manifest advantage, shall be approved *post factum*, (though not licensed before,) even so hallowed and deified, as if they had been brought to pass by the immediate operation or influence of the Holy Ghost, by which the Roman church is guided. Witness that cruel massacre or butchery of so many thousand innocents at Paris and Lyons in

the year 1572, the plotters and actors of which did give fuller proof unto the world of their treachery and of their unrelenting cruelty, than God would permit the powder plotters to give. This plot and practice, notwithstanding, was better approved and more magnified at Rome than it was by the most partial spectators at Paris; and although it was plotted and acted by the French catholics, yet the pope's ambassador, a cardinal of Rome, labours to persuade the French that the success of the plot and of the action was from the virtue and influence of that catholic faith which is contained in the Trent council; and one special part of his embassage was, that the decrees of the Trent council might, upon this joyful experiment of their force and efficacy, be received in France, as they had been in other catholic kingdoms: and that which most
977 plainly evinceth that church's readiness to approve those villainies *post factum*, being done, which she would not for shame license beforehand to be done, one Boyden, which of his own accord, without any warrant or intimation from the king or state, had committed the like butchery at Lyons which the king and his nobles had done at Paris, received the pope's blessing by his ambassador, or legate, *cum plenitudine potestatis*.

§. 10. Would the powder treason (may we think) have found less approbation or applause at Rome (in case it had taken effect) than the Parisian massacre did, though haply it was not first plotted or contrived, or in particular licensed at Rome? The praise or invention of this stratagem (so success had answered to their hopes) should have been ascribed unto the plotters or pioneers, they should have had the pope's blessing for their invention and pains, but the success itself must have been ascribed unto the pope's holiness,

as to their lord of hosts. For as they have invested him with the most choice and sovereign titles which David, after all his victories over his enemies, had to bestow upon the Lord that gave him victory, (for they have made the pope the rock on which the church is built, and *the Rock of Salvation* is one of the most sovereign titles of God incarnate,) so doubtless, if this plot had taken success, the pope's holiness should have shared with God in those attributes or characters of his revenging power described by David, in psalm xviii. 7, 8, *Then the earth shook and trembled; the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken, because he was wroth. There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured: coals were kindled by it.* But is it any essential part of Romish religion that it is lawful for priests or Jesuits, or other factors for the Romish church, to practise such stratagems of war as the powder plot was in the time of peace, and to practise them against their native king and country? Yea, he is either a novice, altogether unacquainted with the fundamental points of Romish religion as it is now taught, or an ambidexter betwixt us and them, which can either persuade himself, or go about to persuade others, that any Romish priest or Jesuit doth think himself bound in conscience to hold or observe any such fair quarter of hostility or enmity with his native king or country, as the Turk, the Persian, or other Mahometans or heathens do take themselves bound in conscience, and by the law of arms and the laws of nations, to hold, either with their Christian enemies, or with enemies whether of the same or of contrary religion. If once we grant the commonweal or kingdom (how absolute soever) to be subordinate to the church or clergy, as it is a commonweal ecclesiastic distinct from it, the former conclusion

or imputation will follow, by the fundamental principles of the civil law, of the law of arms and of nations: for by the law of nations no absolute king or prince, no free sovereignty or state, are bound to observe the law of arms or hostility with their subjects, if they prove rebels or professed traitors. The law of arms or hostility is necessary to be observed only *inter justos hostes*, between such as have power to denounce or exercise hostility one against another, as between nation and nation, or between free states, or sovereignties independent. Now by the fundamental principles of the Romish religion, all heretics, be they more or few, (that is, all Christians which will not subscribe to the Romish religion, and acknowledge allegiance to the pope, as Christ's vicar general in causes spiritual,) are more than rebels, more than traitors; and in case they will not desist, being admonished, be they kings or be they emperors, they and all their
978 adherents may be taken out of the way, without any observance of the law of arms, of nations, or of hostility: they may be poisoned, they may be stabbed, they may be blown up by powder, or be dispatched by what means soever shall seem expedient for the church's good, and the fact, though not licensed or authorized before it be done, may be approved as meritorious after it be done.

§. 11. But some perhaps will reply, that all such amongst us as delight and glory in the name of Roman catholics are not of this temper or resolution; and God forbid I should charge all of them with it; yet unto as many of them as are otherwise affected, I dare boldly say, and by God's assistance shall make my sayings good, that either they are not as they would be accounted, true Roman catholics, or else Roman catholics are no true catholics; the Roman church is

not the catholic church; the Roman faith is not the catholic faith: for unity in point of faith or doctrine, concerning manners of greater consequence, is (by their own confession and pleas) a principal note of the catholic church and faith. It is evident, again, that the principal members of the modern Romish church, of such as our English lay catholics esteem as their fathers in Christ, and in points of faith, do teach it as a point of faith and Christian manners, that the pope hath full power from God to depose Christian kings, to kill them, and to dispose of their kingdoms and subjects. Now if any English Roman catholic do not herein assent unto their fathers and instructors, the former conclusion will necessarily and inevitably follow, to wit, that these lay catholics and Romanists either are no true Roman catholics, or else that the Roman faith (as it is taught by their fathers or instructors) is no catholic faith. This is a point of greatest consequence in religion, whence, if the instructors and the instructed, the pastors and the sheep, hold any unity of faith rather than of faction, either must the sheep or inferior Roman catholics subscribe, when opportunity serves, unto their pastors or superiors, or their pastors must abandon this damnable position, and subscribe to their flock, who think it unlawful to kill their king, and to dispose of his countries and kingdoms. And thus much of the former query. The second query was, how far, or upon what terms, we of the church of England may hope that they which resist the higher powers of this kingdom shall receive such judgment or damnation to themselves, as these powder plotters have done.

§. 12. We hold it as a point of faith or Christian manners, that the power royal (specially in parliament) is the highest power under God in this land, and our

apostle's words you see are plain, that *they which resist the higher power* of any land or kingdom *shall receive to themselves damnation.* And so undoubtedly they shall, unless we of this church and land become guilty of the same sin of resisting or disobeying the higher powers. But let us ever remember, that they which resist the higher powers are therefore liable to this damnation, because in resisting them they resist the ordinance of God. This is the highest power of all, unto which the power both of prince and people is perpetually subject. If then either prince or people, or both, shall resist, or continue in disobedience to the sacred ordinance of God, they shall certainly receive judgment to themselves from God himself. And if it be his will to execute judgment, though upon the highest powers on earth, it is in his sole choice and power to appoint whom he pleaseth to be the executioners of his judgement. And he may exempt the executioners of his judgments, though they demean
979 themselves as Jehu did, from any judgment temporal, albeit they openly resist or violently assault the highest powers that are on earth. Now it is a course of God's providence most frequent, to punish such as will not faithfully serve or obey him in a true religion, by the zealous or diligent professors of a false religion. So he punished the rebellious house of Judah and Israel by the wickedest of the heathen, that is, by the most zealous professors of idolatry, or devoutest worshippers of false gods. It is an excellent observation which Salvianus hath made upon the course of God's justice in punishing most Christian nations by the inundation of heathenish, heretical, or barbarous nations, about some four or five hundred years after Christ: the Spanish nation was at that time as orthodoxal and valorous as any other nation of Christendom what-

soever; and yet pitifully overrun by the Goths, the best part of whose religion was but a rude tincture of the Arian heresy. This good father demands, whether God might not have chosen a more valorous people than the Goths to execute his judgment upon the orthodoxal and valorous Spaniard; and in conclusion he resolves us, that there was not a more cowardly people amongst all the barbarians that then invaded Christendom. What then was the reason why the valorous and orthodoxal Spaniard should be overrun by the heretical, cowardly, and perfidious Goth? The Spaniard (saith this good father) were at that time infamous for lasciviousness and lust, and the Goths remarkable for their chastity and temperance. The same father reckons up some one good quality or other in every one of those barbarous nations which God had then appointed to plague the true professors of Christianity, for their contrary vices or evil manners. *Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est;* and therefore designed, as you heard before, to plague the Spaniard for his lust: *Alanorum gens impudica, sed minus perfida;* and therefore designed by God to plague such as were perfidious: *Franci mendaces,* the Franks were a lying people, *sed hospitales,* yet given to hospitality; and therefore designed to root out the covetous and cut-throat Gauls: *Saxones crudelitate efferi,* the Saxons were fierce and cruel, *sed castitate venerandi,* yet venerable for their chastity; and therefore assigned to be lords over civil and warlike, but unchaste Christians. For application then: say we or think we the worst that can be said of Jesuits and Jesuited Roman catholics; admit they were as perfidious as any of these forementioned heathens or heretics, as cruel and bloody as

the heathen Saxons, as unchaste as the Alans, more mendacious than the heathen Franks, as far short of us for purity of religion or the orthodoxal faith, as the worst of these heathens or heretical nations were of the orthodoxal Christians, whom they overrun in Salvian's time; yet one good quality the Jesuits have, they are not perfidious, they are not disobedient to their superior, zealous observers they are of that religion which they profess, and industrious practisers of those rules to which they subscribe; and being such, may we not justly fear, lest God in time appoint them the executioners of his judgments upon this people, for their disobedience to superiors, for their perpetual neglect or contempt of all canons ecclesiastic, for cloaking their proud or factious humours with the pretended liberty of conscience. As for you of this congregation and place, let me in the bowels of Christ Jesus beseech you, even as you desire that your thanksgiving for our mighty deliverance as upon this day shall be acceptable unto God; as you desire and wish that your prayers for averting the like fearful vengeance from this state and kingdom, or for the removal of the present vi-
980 sitation, shall be heard of God; let me, upon these, and whatsoever you equally or more respect, entreat you not to nurse a faction between public preaching and public praying; let me tell you, that extraordinary forwardness to hear God speak with the tongues of men, and extraordinary backwardness to speak to God with the heart, doth more truly witness an excess of hypocrisy than any fruits or seeds of true religion or devotion. And as for you which purpose to offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving and receive the cup of salvation, let me once again entreat

you to make your serious resolution for amending this fault, one special part of that vow or covenant which you purpose to render unto the Lord whilst you receive the cup of salvation from him, that so the blessing of God the Father Almighty, the blessing of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the blessing of the Holy Ghost, may rest upon this land and people for ever. Amen.

INDEX.

AARON, how his consecration prefigured the consecration of Christ as our High Priest, vol. viii. p.357—383. defects in the circumstances of his consecration, 357, &c. mystery implied in being seven days in consecration, 359. mystery of the *filling of his hands* by Moses, 361. how the sacrifices at his consecration were accomplished in the sacrifice of Christ, 364, &c., 369, &c. the moral implied in the sprinkling his right ear, &c., 377.

Aaronical priesthood, had special reference to two points, the reiteration of the covenant and the representation of its accomplishment, viii. 369.

Abbot, Mr., xii. 159.

Abel, the shedding of his blood paralleled with that of Zachariah's, xi. 286. a type of Christ, 320.

Abraham, God's promise to him wonderfully fulfilled, i. 155. the ground of his justification, iii. 299, x. 573. the covenant between God and Abraham styled in the Chaldee paraphrase, between *The Word* and Abraham, vii. 357. the first to whom God made an oath, viii. 152. 256. why commanded to sacrifice Isaac, *ib.* his right to Canaan conveyed by the blessing of Melchisedec, 237. 252. none of his sons but Christ both a king and priest, 248. how Melchisedec's blessing on him descends to us, 252. the reason of the promise being made by oath to him, 279. God's covenant with, one of equal conditions, 284; and in its form most accurate, 290. God's oath to him the only anchor of our hope in Christ, 304, &c. the purport of his words, Gen. xxii. 8. p. 370. God's promises to him, ratified by degrees, ix. 308. rewarded both according to his faith and works, x. 572.

Abraham's bosom, not the best translation of the original, ix. 516.

Absolution, errors of the Novatians concerning, ix. 563, &c. denied to revolters from the faith by the primitive church, 566.

Acosta, Josephus, a man of ingenuous spirit, yet zealous for the Pope's supremacy, ii. 180.

Act and obliquity of act, cause of the one, cause of the other, ix. 21—32.

Actions, human, their nature and variety, i. 354. what are *not of faith*, 373. how best to square them to the rule of faith, 390, &c. not ruled by necessity, v. 301, ix. 30. (See *Contingency*.) God the cause of them, but not of the evil in them, v. 312. the distinction between actions and their obliquity not applicable to the sinful act of Adam, ix. 20. 25.

Acts, ch. i. 25, *that he might go to his own place*, interpreted to apply not to Judas, but to his successor's apostolic circuit, xii. 54.

Ch. ii. 20, reconciled in expression with the words of Joel's prophecy, x. 203.

Ch. iii. 21, ambiguous sense of, vii. 120. no argument against Christ's real presence in the sacrament, 121.

Adam, uncertain whether he sinned on the very day of his creation, vii. 404. tradition that his fall was on the same day as his creation, explained, not of the identical day, but of the same day of the

week, viii. 481. the day of his fall the same as the day of Christ's death, 482. variety of opinions about his first estate, ix. 4. wherein his original righteousness consisted, 6, &c. his righteousness not supernatural but natural, *quoad terminum productum*, though not *quoad modum productionis*, 9. his being made in God's image, and made righteous, not two distinct works of God, ibid. his first estate described by St. Austin, 14. neither necessitated to continue good nor to become evil, but placed in possibility to both, 15. poisoned himself, and by his own act led *incidere in canonem*, 58. how equally true that God did decree him to die and God did not decree him to die, 480.

Admiration, a property of faith, iii. 54. its use in theology, 55.

'Αδόκιμος, 1 Cor. ix. 27, importance of considered, vii. 151, &c.

ADONAI, the proper signification of, vii. 369. x. 114. why used by the Chaldee paraphrase and by the Greeks and Latins for *Jehovah*, vii. 369, 371. peculiar to the Second Person in the Trinity, 372, x. 114. when placed before the name of four letters in the Old Testament, vii. 373. the title most commonly used in the psalms prophetical of Christ's exaltation, x. 114. not inferior to Jehovah, 115.

Adoration (see *Worship*), divided by the fathers in the second Nicene Council into external and internal, iv. 276.

Adrian, his persecution of the Jews, i. 236. builds Ælia, 237.

Ælia, i. 237.

Æra, the derivation of the word according to Spanish writers, vii. 318. its true origin, 319.

Affections, natural ones not to be destroyed but set right by their objects, iii. 459. ix. 250, &c. sharpen the understanding and enlightened by it, iv. 424. how attributed to God, v. 200. rightly balanced when we are as ready to do as to receive good, xi. 49.

Affliction, how it maketh wise, iv. 69, &c. the use of, for gaining a taste of heavenly joys, x. 467, 468. if not sent by God should be voluntarily undertaken, ibid. memory of, will make us pity others, xi. 68. breaks the league betwixt sin and our souls, 219. in general causes repentance, but in that kind we have afflicted others a special means of it, 237.

Agar, mystery implied in its equivocal sense, xii. 72, &c.

Agency, immanent and transient, ix. 174.

Agents, free, definition and properties of, ix. 174, &c. necessity and contingency the limits of the operations of all secondary ones, 175. all secondary ones need some preexistent matter to work upon, *ib.* no agent free in respect of all, every agent free in respect of some objects, 179.

——— natural and artificial, and mixed effects proceeding from both, v. 237.

Affluence, engenders atheism, iv. 23. hinders us from pitying the wants of others, xi. 71.

Albigenses, persecutions of, in St. Bernard's time, ii. 23.

Alboinus, king of the Lombards, v. 497.

Alexander the Great, said by the Turks to have been general to Solomon, i. 95. a scourge of God for all Eastern nations, v. 392. his success foretold by Daniel, 394.

Alexander de Medices, slain by one whom he had pardoned for murder, xi. 48.

Alexander III. (Pope), restrictions of, as to canonization of saints, iv. 339.

Alexander V. (Pope), ix. 531.

Allegory, in what cases arguments of proportion may be drawn from, xii. 70.

Almighty, the title of, not peculiar to the Father, but essential to the Godhead, v. 210.

Almighty power, logical possibility presupposed to the working of, ix. 358. (See *Omnipotency*.)

Alphonsus the Great, i. 126.

Alvarez de Sande, an instance of human mutability in height and dejection of spirit, xi. 114.

Ambition, a hinderance to faith, iii.

429. the root of the basest slavery, ix. 131. how to be mortified and set right, 251. more dangerous than grosser sins, x. 497.
Ambrose, St., the meaning of his words, "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open, &c.," viii. 438. ix. 517. his Creed, x. 234. after what manner he excommunicated the emperor Theodosius, xii. 237.
Ammianus Marcellinus, his description of the Saracens in harmony with the prophecy concerning Ishmael, i. 223. his apology for Julian, iv. 161.
Amphibologies, breed no danger in prophecies which have amplitude of sense, vii. 120, &c.
Anabaptists, doctrine of, concerning magisterial power, xii. 308.
Ancients, how far we may dissent from, with modesty, ii. 68, &c. difference of their temper from that of moderns, iv. 32.
Ancient times, not to be measured by later, and why, i. 74, &c.
And, rules to know when it may be changed into *Or*, in answer to Tollet, x. 58.
Androgyni of Plato, only a misconceit of Moses' diverse mention of man's creation, i. 115.
Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, a good but imperfect precept, x. 434.
Angels, when probably created, vii. 402. all created free in respect of good and evil, ix. 179. what freedom is in good ones, 180. are ministering spirits yet not inferior to men, x. 10. needless distinction of orders among, 12. ministers not to us, but to God for our good, 13.
Angels, (fallen,) lost all freedom in respect of goodness, ix. 179. what freedom in respect of evil remains in them, 180. the depth of their fall proportioned to the height of their first station, 183. sinned more wilfully and haughtily than man, *ib.* contracted by their sin a twofold necessity, the necessity of doing evil and with evil intentions, *ib.* their benefits to men but a usurer's kindness, *ib.*
Anger, whether it may be attributed to God, v. 195. necessary, but not natural to God, 199. how said to be in God, 200.
Anima mundi, doctrine of, a root of idolatry, iv. 156. v. 11.
Annihilation, does not destroy the possibility of the reexistence of the identical same thing, x. 249.
Anselm, his mode of expressing God's ubiquity, v. 53.
Anthony, punished for oppression of the Jews, i. 140.
Antichrist, first degree of its exaltation, ii. 181. spirit of, how manifested, 266. second degree of its exaltation, 309. third degree, 501. excess of its exaltation, 469. how realized in the church of Rome, ii. 266. xii. 144, &c. not an open enemy, ii. 304. to be manifested and be a chief officer in some true church, xii. 151.
Antichristianism, the mixing up of the doctrine of Christ and of devils, xii. 152.
Antiochus Epiphanes, the cause of his death, i. 137.
Antipapists, their opinion of church authority destructive of all spiritual authority, i. 349. xi. 174, &c.
Antiquity, reasons of our mistrusting, i. 74, &c.
Antoninus, his army relieved with water at the prayer of Christians, i. 162. his decree in favour of the Christians of Asia, 206. x. 168. his testimony to Christians' confidence in calamities, *ib.*
Apathy, a symptom of a graceless and obdurate mind, xi. 95.
Apocalypse, authority of, doubted by ancients, but proved to moderns, i. 314. testimony of the Romish church for it valuable as a witness against herself, 315.
Apocrypha, not made a point of faith by our church to reject it, i. 312. only not ranked by her on the same level with canonical books, *ib.* use of, for matters fo fact, vi. 122. viii. 8. 14.
Apostasy, how treated by the primitive church, ix. 566.
Apostles, what is meant by being *built upon the foundation* of them, vii. 119. had probably different circuits of ministry allotted by Christ, xii. 53.
Apparitions of heathen gods, a

poetical imitation of reality, i. 69.

Aquinas, Thomas, authority of, quoted for the identity of the understanding and the will, iii. 61. canonization of, impeached by some, iv. 214. his explanation of the nature of vows, 272. his definition of eternity, v. 67. explanation by his followers of St. Athanasius' expression of the union of natures in Christ, vii. 288. apology for errors in his writings, ix. 24. his explanation of St. Paul's argument from seed sown to prove the identity of our bodies at the resurrection, x. 273. required only an habitual intention of the priest for the validity of the sacraments, xi. 187.

Arabians, the cause of their malice toward the Jews, i. 161. most ready to assist in the siege of Jerusalem, *ib.*

Arabes Scenitæ, the same people as the Saracens, i. 222. descendants of Ishmael, *ib.*

Arians, their heresy, viii. 220. victory over them, due to St. Athanasius, xii. 139.

Arias Montanus, authority of, for the nature of lively faith, iii. 185. his translation of Zechariah ix. 9, viii. 27, &c.

Aristocracy, origin of, as a form of government, xii. 312.

Aristotle, his rule for poets to ground fictions upon true histories, i. 55. Confounds formal and final causes, 111. his philosophy imperfect, as not leading to the First Cause, 112. his doctrine of the certainty of sciences, ii. 74. his doctrine of phantasms considered, iv. 92, &c. gives the best account of the origin of idolatry, 115. his erroneous notions of the Deity, 349. his definition of Infinity inadequate, v. 32. his error concerning the divine presence, 46. vanity of his opinion of the Greeks, 390.

Ark, a type of the catholic church, vi. 417. what was mystically prefigured by the clean and unclean beasts in it, 420.

Ark of the covenant, a type of the human nature of Christ, viii. 446. 463.

Arnuphis, the sorcerer, said by heathens to have relieved the army of Antoninus with water, i. 162.

Art, rules of, necessary for gathering the sense of scripture, ix. 17. xii. 176.

Arts, inventions in, have a tendency to obscure the notion of a Deity, iv. 37.

Ascension of our Lord, prefigured by Enoch and Elijah, viii. 440. foretold in the Psalms, 441. and by Daniel, 461. typified in the Mosaical history of the tabernacle, 463. into what part of heaven Christ ascended not determinable, nor required as an article of faith, 467. the duties to which belief in the Ascension binds us, 468. how prefigured by the prophet Jonas, 471, &c. represented by his presentation in the temple, 503. the end of, to make intercession for us, x. 21.

Asia, the scene of God's greatest works, i. 94.

Assent, the essence of belief in general, i. 6. varies in strength according to the object, the grounds, and our apprehension of either, *ib.* rules for differencing it, iii. 18, &c. defined, 27. what evidence is required for, 30. that given to supernatural objects may be greater than that of demonstrative science, 34. strength of, how dependent on the worth of the object, 38.

Assurance, dependent on constant mortification, ix. 208. 328. an immature and absolute assurance leads to unchecked indulgence of corrupt affections, 374. 551. x. 440. 548. spread of false doctrine of, in England, ix. 551. erroneous doctrine of, a greater blow to the Reformation than any arguments of its adversaries, 552. xi. 192. as held by some reformers, a worse error than the contrary error of the Roman church, xi. 191. how the doctrine has been misplaced by some reformed churches, 192. particular full assurance not of the essence of faith, *ib.* causes

either presumption or despair, 193. makes men mistake malice towards men for zeal towards God, 198. the church of England doctrine concerning, 199, &c.
Assyrian monarchy, its rise and fall a proof of God's judgments, v. 401.
Astrology, the result of an error common to most philosophers, x. 243.
Athanasian Creed, its expression of the personal union of God and man in Christ, defended against the objection of Bellarmine, vii. 282.
Athanasius, St., an instance that one may be a member of the holy catholic church, though not a member of the visible church, xii. 137. the main opponent of the Arian heresy, 139.
Atheism, credulity of, i. 76. the sin of later ages, 77. 81. arose with the Roman monarchy, 79. most abounded since the propagation of the gospel, and why, 120. how the result of Romish doctrines, ii. 545. its prevalence in Italy, 571. the original springs of, iv. 5, &c. not to be cured by disputation, 11. best mode of curing it, 12. a spiritual madness, *ib.* springs from the same root as heresy, idolatry, and hypocrisy, 19. how engendered by affluence or indigence, 23. atheism in passion, 30. in habit, 32. why not so common in ancient as in later times, *ib.* that of incogitancy, 38. that arising from pride of wit and false inductions, 43, &c. arising from intemperance, 54. simple atheism, 60. the excess of this sin witnesses the truth it denies, 61—64. means to prevent it, 64, &c. chief strength of, lies in a preconceived impossibility of a creation and resurrection, v. 7. receipt for curing it, 224.
Attilas, v. 438. 459.
Attributes of God, gradually revealed, i. 110. qualifications required in us to understand them aright, iv. 403—427. treatise upon, v. 6—558. identical with His essence, 38, &c. attribute of power manifested in the creature, 78, &c. of wisdom, 83. of prescience, 96. of immutability, 105. of goodness, 116. of love, 140. of omnipotency, 210.
Auctoritas docentis, how a ground of assent, i. 3. consists in the skill and honesty of the teacher, 10. 13.
Augilæ, a people of Africa who worshipped only departed spirits, iv. 189.
Augustin, St., his dilemma, i. 21. his account of his obstacles in understanding scripture, 457. his explanation of *Cephas*, as applied to St. Peter, ii. 250. his extensive sense of the word *will*, iii. 81. his sense of *justification*, 291. ix. 541. his saying, *Bona opera sequuntur justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum,* expounded, iii. 291. x. 581. his account of heathen mythology, iv. 125. notices three sorts of errors in conceptions of the Divine nature, v. 11. denies the term *foreknowledge* to be properly applicable to God, 96. opinion of, as to the instantaneous work of creation, 254. why he holds sin to be nothing, vii. 406. not the author of the doctrine of original sin, ix. 45. criticism of, on heathen definitions of liberty and happiness, 99. his attempt to moderate between opinions of Pelagius and Valentinus not apprehended by most, 163. answer of, to Dardanus as to Christ's session, 510. his story of bishop Firmus, x. 151. his definition of sin, xii. 259.
Augustus, witticism of, on Herod's murder of his son, vi. 272. viii. 228. his sea-fight with Anthony at Actium made the nations shake, vi. 427. date and place of his decree mentioned by St. Luke, according to Spanish writers, vii. 317—323. God's special Providence shewn in disposing of his decree, 321.
Auricular confession, how it tends to provoke sin, ix. 55.
Authority, human, proper end and use of, for avoiding schisms, ii. 4.
——— spiritual, limits of, i. 354, &c.
——— of pastors, the only ground of some men's belief, i. 402. va-

ries according to their character, 404. not to be slighted even in unworthy ministers, 405.
Averroes, acknowledges a directing supernatural agent in nature, ii. 526.

Babylon, manner of its destruction a fulfilment of prophecy, v. 414.
Balthazar Ayala, xii. 116.
Baptism, by water and the Holy Ghost, typified by the pillar of cloud and of fire, ii. 463. how John the Baptist's differed from Christ's a fruitless question, vi. 380. prefigured by Isaiah's prophecies of water bursting forth in the wilderness, 389. typified by the waters from the rock in the wilderness, 391. and by the preservation in the ark, 417. makes us sons and heirs, but not elect, ix. 321. x. 337. its performance once for all typified by the rarity of the rite of consecrating the water of sprinkling, ix. 543. church of England doctrine of, 547. takes away actual as well as original sin, 593. efficacy of Christ's sacrifice and priesthood in, 594. how a death unto sin, x. 335. means given in, for mortifying sin, 336. how far all are sanctified in, 337. that infants are regenerate by, the doctrine of our church, 338. a mutual covenant between God and us, 339. the duties to which we are bound by, 339, &c. the practice of trine immersion signified not only the Trinity, but the days of our Lord's rest in the grave, 340. how a representation of our first resurrection to newness of life and second to glory, 341. administered by heretics valid, xii. 148. sign of the cross at, pertly objected to by the nonconformist, 286.
Baptismal grace, the benefit of, x. 337. error of those who deny it, 339. our abuse of, the true cause of our defects in holiness, 372.
——— service, anti-papists' objections to, answered, ix. 545, &c.
Baptista, Joannes, the means of his conversion, ii. 35. note.
Barabbas, inference from the import of the name as to the Jews' conduct in preferring him to Christ, viii. 106. ix. 155.
Barbarius, a false prætor, the acts of, ruled to be valid, xii. 147.
Baronius, xii. 142.
Baruch, donative of life to, a great blessing, xi. 119, &c.
Basil, St., iv. 210. his observation that sin quickens as reason ripens, explained, ix. 323.
Bassina's dream prophetic of the state of France, i. 83.
Beatific vision, why so called, x. 407. the essence of perfect happiness, *ib.*
Beatitudes, the eight, not different branches of happiness, x. 420. assign one and the same happiness to eight different qualifications, *ib.* explained in detail, 420—427.
Becanus, his controversy with Paræus, ix. 22. xi. 208.
Bede, a French cardinal's address at his tomb, i. 339.
Beelzebub, might cast out devils by design, as cheaters lose, ii. 439.
Belief, defined, i. 2. how far it excludes evident knowledge, *ibid.* sometimes distinguished by its grounds, 3. neither excludes all certainty nor necessarily requires any, 5. varies in strength according to the object, grounds, and our apprehension of either, 6. objects of, 8. grounds of, often impossible to convey to others, 48, &c. used in scripture to designate various degrees of assent, iii. 160. ix. 145, &c. (See *Faith.*)
——— conditional, distinguished from actual, i. 6. to what it binds us in our way of regarding scripture, 14. should make our actions venturesome on the chance of great good, 15. nature, use, conditions, and properties of, 399, &c. distinguished from Romanists' implicit faith, 413, &c.
——— in Christ, not the same thing as abiding in his word, ix. 149.
Believe in God, to, how much it implies, iv. 6. first point of faith, 10.
Bellarmine, his evasion of scripture, i. 444. his explanation of David's words, *A lantern unto our feet,* refuted, 471, &c. his arguments from reason for one supreme

judge in matters of religion, ii. 99, &c. character of his books *De Verbo Dei* and *De Romano Pontifice*, 133. opposes Luther and Brentius as to the right of private judgment, 174. his reply to the main objection of reformed churches against the Romish, shewn to be equivocal, 182, &c. his syllogism whereby every proposition of faith must be inferred, 189. 518. his distinction of the pope's authority from that of the fathers, 298. his argument for the pope's authority from that of the high priest, answered, 331. his deductions from Matt. xxii. 2, 3, refuted, 341, &c. his put off about Ahab's 400 prophets, 401. his explanation of St. Paul's mode of teaching, 485. his statement of the authority of the Trent Council, 495, 496. censures Catharinus, 506. his exposition of justification, iii. 288, &c. difference of, from some other Romanists, as to Abraham's justification, 303, 304. his defence of the Roman liturgy in its rhetorical exaggerations, iv. 210. his defence of the invocation of saints, 215, &c. apology of, for the dedication of churches to saints, 269. 271. his explanation of vows to saints, 272. exceptions of, against the Athanasian expression of the union of natures in Christ, vii. 282. his opinion of predestination as much to blame as Calvin's, ix. 23. arguments of, for the merit of works, x. 517. exceptions of, against Calvin's invisible church, considered, xii. 29, &c.

Benjamin, the coincidence of the place and manner of his birth with those of our Lord, vi. 290.

——— tribe of, how its fortunes fulfilled the import of its father's two names, *Benjamin* and *Benoni*, vi. 283. what we may infer of their future destiny from their former fate, 287. 290, &c.

Benjamin Tudelensis, his account of the treatment of the Jews, i. 251, &c.

Berith, rightly translated by St. Paul διαθήκη, ix. 523.

Bernard, St., wrote against Rodulphus Vilis, a monk who preached that it was lawful to spoil the Jews for maintaining the holy war, i. 250. provost of Stenelda's epistle to, ii. 24. his three grounds of hope, iii. 153. authority of, for the necessity of works to constitute justifying faith, 164.

Berwick, tares sown at, by Knox and Mackbray, ix. 551.

Beth, Hebrew particle, ambiguous sense of, viii. 495, &c.

Beza, iv. 7. viii. 36. his erroneous doctrine of reprobation, ix. 455. his observation on reformed churches an erroneous interpretation of St. John ch. vi. 56, x. 54. his interpretation of Christ being *the chief corner stone*, 88. his translation of Heb. ch. iv. 13, xi. 406.

Biblis, story of, related by Eusebius, x. 448.

Binnius, xii. 142.

Bishops, authority of, under heathen princes and after princes were christianized, xi. 173, 174. the errors of those who deny the authority of, worse than heathenish, 174.

——— Roman, oath of, at their consecration, xii. 167.

Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, what constitutes it, x. 492.

Blood, sermons concerning the shedding of, xi. 217—361. cry of, not stinted by building the tombs of murdered prophets, 274. blood of 3000 years visited on the generation that slew Christ, 280. question whether Christ's blood was reckoned in that visitation, 289. Christ's, not charged upon those that shed it, 312, &c.

Bloody sweat, no proof of supernatural pains, vii. 483. instance of, in an Italian captain, *ib.*

Bodin, verdict of, as to the sure punishment of perjury, viii. 273.

Boetius, his definition of Eternity, v. 66.

Boleslaus, v. 541.

Boydon, leader of the massacre at Lyons, blessed from the pope, ii. 578.

Bradwardine, xi. 209.

BRANCH, The, Zech. vi. 12, was to be David's Lord and Son, viii. 333, &c.

Brazen serpent, how far its erection was typical of Christ, viii. 154, &c. an emblem of the old serpent, 157. what was imported by its being called *Nehushtan*, 160.
Breastplate of judgment, why so called according to Josephus and Suidas, ii. 312. why called in Greek τὸ λογεῖον, xi. 406.
Brentius, maintains the duty of private judgment, ii. 175.
Brissonius, vii. 142.
Bucer, authority of, for the protestant doctrine of justification, iii. 328. his favourable construction of the Lutheran opinions as to the ubiquity of our Lord's body, x. 23.
Bullinger, works of, used by licensed readers in our church, ix. 550.
Burton, Mr., Dr. Jackson's vindication of himself against, ix. 354, &c.
Busbequius, v. 557. vii. 333. his account of Alvarez de Sande in prison, xi. 116.

Cadmus, a counterfeit of Moses, i. 97.
Cain, a type of the Jewish nation, xi. 319.
Cajetan, iv. 272, his interpretation of Psalm ii. 7. vol. viii. 406.
Caleb and Joshua, their state in the promise irrevocably confirmed before their entrance into Canaan, ix. 305.
Caligula, emperor, his strange fear of thunder an acknowledgment of a future judgment, x. 142.
Calling, external and internal, xii. 42.
Calvin, his opinion of faith without works, iii. 183. his story of a profane jester, iv. 74. accused of slander in the matter of invocation of saints, 215. censured by Romanists and Lutherans for his interpretation of scripture, vii. 93. said to have affirmed that Christ suffered the pains of hell on the cross, 488. his exposition of Matt. xxiii. 17, vol. viii. 321. zealous for the literal interpretation of scripture, 408. comment of, on Ps. xlviii. 12, vol. viii. 450. apology for, ix. 24. his expressions made worse by some of his defenders, *ib.* his definition of original sin, 72.
Cambyses, even in his lawless love for his sister, shewed a natural subjection to some law, v. 220. his Christianlike advice to his son, vi. 44.
Camden, his proof of the deluge, iii. 25. note.
Camerarius, v. 501.
Caninius, viii. 36.
Canonical books, question with Romanists as to their number not one of faith, i. 311. brief resolution of doubts concerning the number of, 312, &c. doubts as to interpolations in them resolved, 317, &c.
Canonization, the absurdity of the Romish doctrine of, ii. 568, &c. first practised by Leo III., 581. its danger to states, 582. of the nature of witchcraft, 583.
Canons of the church, the duty of obeying them, xii. 265. 286. disobedience to, a greater sin than disobedience to mere temporal laws, *ibid.* church governors as much authorized by God to make them, as civil powers to enact laws temporal, 289. practices enjoined by, more safely observed than practices commanded by laws temporal, *ibid.* nonconformists' scruples concerning, answered, 286—300. the same conformity due to them as to temporal laws, 296.
Canus, assertion of, concerning church authority, ii. 176. his justification of the Sanhedrim in condemning our Lord, 355. his admission as to the ultimate ground of faith, 482. taxes Scotus and Durand for resolving faith into the infallibility of the church, 505. teaches that grace inherent does not make us just by its mere entity, iii. 334.
Capito, Wolfgang, vii. 68. 165.
Carafa, cardinal, apophthegm of, ii. 591.
Cardanus, his advice to commentators, viii. 255.
Carmel, the oracles of, to Vespasian, i. 175.
Carthusians, order of, impugned, and why, iv. 212.
Cassander, desired reformation in in th echurch, 87.
Cassius, his death a punishment for his sacrilege, i. 139.

Castellio, viii. 33.
Castrus, commentary of, on Zech. xi. 12, 13, vol. viii. 120.
Catechisms, necessity of conformity in, ix. 550.
Catesby, his impious resolutions for the gunpowder plot, xii. 332.
Catharine, St., impiety of the legend of her marriage, iv. 353.
Catharinus, defends the Trent council, and yet holds certainty of salvation, ii. 84. denies infallible faith except of objects approved by the church, 506.
Catholic, the title not expressly applied to the church in scripture, but implied, xii. 27. first applied by the composers of the Apostles' Creed in opposition to the Jewish church, *ib.* full importance of the term set down in Revelations, 28. three branches of, all places, all sorts of men, and all times, *ib.* 162. whether the name *catholic* can be pleaded for a mark of the true visible church, 157. proper to the faith professed by the church of England, but cannot be attributed to the creed of the modern Romish church, 161, &c.
Cato, the spuriousness of his fortitude, iii. 390, &c.
Causal particles, the importance of, vii. 98. x. 518. 609.
Cause, free, see *Agents*.
Cause, efficient and final, whether demonstrable from each other, ii. 525. final, impossible to be demonstrated, *ib.* there must be a first cause, v. 7.
Causes, natural, the tendency of moderns to ascribe every thing to them, i. 306. dependent on the Almighty Creator, v. 265. possess power though dependent on God, 277.
Cedrenus, unwitting testimony of, to the fulfilment of Revelations ch. viii. 8, vi. 183.
Celibacy, approved by our blessed Lord's example, vi. 248.
Celsus, his false induction against Christianity, iv. 48.
Censure, rigid censure of others a prognostic of falling, xi. 17.
Cephas, what the name imports in St. Peter, ii. 250.
Certainty, either applicable to our assent or to objects known, iii. 29. certainty of persuasion without proportionate certainty of object, of the nature of sorcery, 32. that of our assent to supernatural objects may be greater than what we have of demonstrative sciences, 35.
Chalcocondylas, his explanation of the name Turk, i. 234.
Chaldee paraphrasts, the date of, vii. 243. express the divine nature of the Son of God by *the Word*, ib.
Chaldean astrologers, impious in their opinion of the power of the heavens over sublunary things, v. 342.
Chaldean monarchy, its rise and fall a manifestation of God's judgments, v. 401.
Chance, what it means in heathen writers as distinguished from fortune, v. 348.
Change, supposes imperfection, v. 105.
Charity, connection of, with faith, iii. 82, &c. 148. 160, &c. the extrinsic form of faith, according to Romish writers, 184. subordinate to faith, according to protestants, 327. the formal cause of justification by Romanists, *ib.* the test of our love to God, x. 412. xi. 43. works of, superior to other works of piety, x. 587. the practice of, the truest and most easy imitation of our Lord, 588. the obligation to, increased by the depravity of its objects, 589. collaterally respects the first table of the law, xi. 44.
Charles the Bold, v. 482.
Charles V. the issue of his war with the confederate princes of Germany an instance of God's special providence, v. 468.
Charles Martel, his martial act, i. 235.
Chastisements, if not sent by God should be inflicted on ourselves, x. 467. the use of, for gaining a spiritual taste, 468. the absence of, a most fearful sign of God's displeasure, 469. the duty of submission to, 470.
Chemnitius, brief answer of, in Luther's behalf, i. 298. his statement of

the doctrine of justification, ii. 329. treats of superstitious performances to the dead, iv. 208. opinion of, as to the date of our Lord's baptism, vi. 432. excellent rule of, to students in divinity, ix. 32. x. 512.

Children, parallel properties of little children and Christians, x. 562. not punished for fathers' sins, although fathers' sins are visited on children, xi. 298, &c. what is meant by God's visiting sins upon them unto the third and fourth generation, and shewing them mercy unto a thousand, 300. the difference between *punishing* and *visiting* them for their fathers' sins, 301. 303. how they are bound to confess and amend their fathers' sins, 307. 340. born heirs to their fathers' sins, 325. special abstinence from their fathers' sins required of them, 326.

Christ Jesus our Lord, required His doctrines to be tested by Moses' writings, ii. 423, &c. His Messiaship more proved by the testimony of prophecy than by His miracles, 427. 435, &c. strict correspondence of, to the Prophet foretold by Moses, 445. His Godhead declared by the *matter* of His predictions, 451. similarity of, to Moses in the office of mediation, 457. His tears a proof of God's love to such as perish, v. 175. His mysterious conception foretold by Jeremiah, and typified by several instances in Jewish history, vi. 202—210. 234. vii. 163. 313. His place of birth and education a fulfilment of prophecy, vi. 216, &c. how much is implied in His being called a Nazarene, 219. how a true Nazarite, 223. mystery implied in His being *made of a woman*, 233. vii. 424. His twofold nature shewn by the manner of His birth, vi. 242. consolations resulting from His twofold nature, 246. inheritance of redemption to both sexes and all conditions of men, proved by the manner of His birth and life, 247. vii. 423. why *made under the law*, vi. 249. His answer to John the Baptist's message how satisfactory to ordinary hearers, 317. and how to John himself, 345. how properly styled *the desire of all nations*, 322. 426. blessedness promised by, a fulfilment of all men's notions of happiness, 324. the character of His miracles proves Him the author of all the kinds of good of which happiness consists, 333. His manifestation in the flesh a peculiar fulfilment of prophecy, 392. in what month and on what day He was baptized, 431. viii. 56. 163. 352. His going into the wilderness a mystical fulfilment of the ceremony of the scape-goat, vi. 433. viii. 56. 163. significancy of the *place* of His baptism, vi. 437. how men are said to be offended in Him, 468. why the history of His death affects us so little, vii. 12. special circumstances to be considered in His death, 13. types in the Old Testament of all the events of His birth, life, and death, 48. viii. 149, &c. His speaking in parables a fulfilment of prophecy not in event only, but in design, vii. 96—98. varied information necessary for understanding His parables, 140. His incarnation foretold by Moses, 174. His Godhead proved by works done immediately by God himself, 188. how His humiliation is foretold by the prophets, 196. proofs in the Psalms of His royal power, 208, &c. x. 114, &c. His eternal generation defended, (see *Socinians*.) His co-eternity with the Father proved from Scripture, vii. 224, &c. and from the testimony of Jews, 236. His incarnation more expressly foretold under the title of *the Word*, 256. (see *Word*.) His human nature gradually developed in the same manner as other men's, 278. the hypostatical and personal union of His two natures discussed, 281. His human flesh and blood the flesh and blood of God, 291. 441. viii. 294. ix. 597. x. 5. the name of *Christ* not applicable to Him before His resurrection, vii. 296. 368. as man, the Son of God the Father and not of the Holy Ghost, 303. not the Son of David

by Solomon's line, 305. how He was the immediate successor of David in the kingdom, *ib.* 428. the inscription on His cross contained His true title, 311. viii. 137. the circumstances of His birth paralleled with the circumstances under which Isaiah prophesied of Emmanuel, vii. 346. by His circumcision in His twofold nature, the covenant between God and man mutually sealed, 359. viii. 294. angelical song at His nativity foretold in the Psalms, vii. 390. His humiliation, (see *Son of God.*) how the immediate successor of Adam, 426. 428. had two distinct wills, 437. 497. to make satisfaction must have offered something peculiarly His own, 440. His human nature no true part of His person, 441. His flesh a cure for the poison of sin, 443. His three temptations parallel to those which had seduced our first parents, 451, &c. His body not liable to disease, 457. 459. how He suffered in the flesh before His agony, 459. not necessary to satisfy Divine justice that He should suffer the pains of hell, 470, &c. 491, &c. that *He descended into hell* not meant of the pains of hell, 471. what is meant by the cup which He prayed might pass from Him, 473—482. viii. 209. how He learnt obedience by His sufferings, vii. 475, &c. x. 21. His learning obedience implies no defect in obedience before, vii. 478. viii. 205. His bloody sweat no argument of the pains of hell, vii. 483. probable causes of His agony, 484, &c. His exclamation on the cross argues no experience of hell pains or of discontent, 488, &c. His obedience most conspicuous in His last sufferings, 496, &c. His sacrifice on the cross all-sufficient without the suffering supernatural pains, 499, 500. viii. 210. did in His agony suffer supernatural pains, but not the pains of hell, vii. 503, &c. impossible that He should suffer the pains of hell, 507, &c. His sufferings requisite to qualify Him as our high priest, 511, &c. viii. 205. 210. x. 20. how the form of His prayers differed from the style of the ancient Jews, vii. 515. viii. 92. the manner of His supplications proves Him to be the Son of God, vii. 516. from what *beginning of the world* He is said to be the *Lamb slain*, viii. 2. how His triumphant entry into Jerusalem declared Him to be the Lamb of God, 4. 480. did ride both on the ass and the colt, 22—27. 131. His rejection of the dam and use of the colt prefigured the rejection of the Jews, 26. acknowledged to be Messias by the cries of Hosanna, 37. countenanced sacred solemnities instituted by the church, 64. His indignities in the judgment hall foretold in the Psalms, and by Isaiah, 84. 90. His unjust condemnation foretold in the Psalms, 95. variance between the evangelists as to His bearing His own cross, explained, 131. His indignities on the cross foretold, 139. the significancy of his words on the cross, 140, &c. 206. why vinegar was given to Him, 142. did not surrender up His soul but in the course of nature, 148. the time and place of His crucifixion a fulfilment of the feast of atonement, 162, &c. 350, &c. various modes of reconciling the discrepancies as to the hour of His crucifixion, 167, &c. accomplished both the morning and evening sacrifice, 171. mysteries and fulfilment of prophecies which ensued on His death, *ib.* a question as to the meaning of His being *buried*, 178. His consecration to His everlasting priesthood, 197, &c. His compassion as our high priest, 205. what the prayers were which He *offered up with strong crying and tears*, 206, &c. His consecration not complete before His sacrifice, 212. Jewish objections to His priesthood, answered, 212, &c. difficulties in the opinion that His priesthood began from His birth or baptism, 214. His resurrection the completion of His consecration, 215. 238. 249. 359. 383. ix. 605. in what

sense He is said to have redeemed all mankind, viii. 216, &c. x. 65. xi. 202. His blessing the perfection of all blessing, viii. 251. 286. His characters as priest and king typified by Joshua son of Josedech and Zerubbabel, 327, &c. and foretold by Zechariah and Jeremiah under the name of *the Branch*, 333, &c. His title *the Lord our Righteousness* foreshadowed, 337. His crown of thorns prefigured by the ram caught in the thicket, 374. His tomb a fulfilment of Isaiah's words *the Rock whence ye were hewn*, 399. ii. 467. how *the firstborn of every creature*, viii. 435. 503. how He was truly three days and three nights in the earth, 477. the time of His death and rest in the tomb coincident with that of man's creation, and God's resting from His labours, 480. 483. what His abode forty days on earth after His resurrection did portend, 471, 486—503. and how it was foretold and prefigured, 493. 503. questionable whether He was not exempted from the law of redemption for firstborn, 505. His blood shed upon the cross not spilt like water, but preserved in the heavenly sanctuaries, ix. 520. 597. wherein the eminency of His sacrifice consists, 527, &c. 540. 590. why His sacrifice is styled *everlasting*, 538. how an everlasting priest, *ib.* the infinite superiority of His priesthood, 539. distinction between the infinite *value* and infinite *virtue* of His sacrifice, 591. His retaining the human nature necessary for the efficacy of His sacrifice, *ib.* the efficacy of His sacrifice, and the everlasting use of His priesthood, distinct points of belief, 604. wherein the exercise of His priesthood consists, 605. not priest nor Lord from all eternity, x. 18. how a living stone, 79. the foundation of the apostles and prophets, 86, &c. in what sense called the *chief corner stone*, 88. His sufferings in time finite, but in value infinite, 527.

CHRIST'S session at the right hand of God, x. 1, &c. sitting on the right hand of God not a mere metaphor, 5, &c. 195. the real dignity implied by this article, 10, &c. two questions concerning the exaltation implied in it, 14. Christ exalted in both natures, *ib.* His exaltation in His divine nature implies no addition to its dignity, 15. 22. comfort to be derived from His exaltation, 19. in what sense His human nature is, and in what sense it is not, infinitely exalted, 25, &c. the efficacy to us of His human nature exalted, 34. our interest in His exaltation, 38. His human nature the only bond by which we are united to the Divine nature, 40.

CHRIST'S lordship, x. 105. grounds of His title as Lord, 120. every one bound to confess Him to be Lord implies a universality of duties as well as of parties, 124, &c. confessing Him to be Lord glorifies the Father, 135.

CHRIST'S coming to judgment, x. 138. proofs of Christ being judge from the prophecy of Enoch, 170. proofs of, from the Old Testament, 172. that Christ should be judge, revealed by degrees, 174. His title to be judge confessed by our Lord himself, 179. Christ condemned for asserting his judicial power, 180. comfort to be derived from His being judge, 182. prophecies both of His first and second coming to judgment, 188. the manner of His ascension shews the manner of His coming to judgment, 193. the *place* from which He shall come to judge, 194. to what place He shall come, 196. terrors preceding His coming, 204, &c. description of the terror of His throne in the Old Testament, 210. manner of His coming, *ib.* what is emblemed by the *sharp sword going out of His mouth*, 215, &c. His title of Λόγος makes Him at once the law, witness, and judge of transgressions, 225, 226. xi. 404.

CHRIST'S resurrection, reciprocal inference from His and our's, x. 307, &c. how we are justified by, 321. how He himself was justified by it, 325. how we are to mea-

sure our belief of this article, 327.

CHRIST's body, controversy as to its ubiquity more verbal than real, x. 23. cannot be everywhere, 27. 256. efficacy of, it now exalted, to us, 34. distinction between its *virtual* and *local* ubiquity, 35. the question between Romanists and ourselves as to its local presence in the sacrament, not one as to God's power, but as to his will, 255.

CHRIST's body and blood, efficacy of, upon our souls, ix. 597, 598. what it is to partake of, sacramentally, x. 51. really, present even to unworthy receivers, 52. what it is to eat and drink, spiritually, 53. the doctrine of receiving His blood in the bread *by concomitancy*, a late invention, 55. and denied by Pope Innocent, 56. sacramental partaking of, better than receiving them only spiritually, 63. how to eat and drink spiritually, 64.

Christianity, never without able defenders, i. 20. distinguished from Mahometanism in being against the current of men's inclinations, 22. profession of, now, founded upon the same principles that induced heathens to reject it, iii. 208. difficulties in the profession of, vary in different ages, 212. sincere profession of, alike hard at all times, *ib.* reality of, easier to the primitive church than mere profession, but profession of, easier in modern times, *ib.*

Christians, obligation upon to progress, i. 400. experience of former ignorance should teach them self-diffidence in matters of obedience, *ib.* the faith of, generally no better than that of infidels, iii. 208. their snares in the customs of the world, 217. though they would die for their profession, yet may hate Christ as much as they do the Jews that crucified him, 229, &c. their inducements to adhere to the gospel greater than the Jews had to adhere to the law, 236. the principal points they are bound to believe, vii. 7. their union with Christ, 239. xii. 20. how said to be born of God, vii. 269. may be as base servants as the heathens to heathen gods, ix. 120. xi. 214. may wrong Christ as much as those did who put him to death, x. 74. xi. 161. how they grow into a holy temple, x. 92. 100. the nourishment of growing Christians, 103. bound more strictly to obey than the Jews, 130. their most near union, xi. 30. xii. 21.

Christians, early, heathen testimony to their confidence, i. 206. x. 168. artifices of heathens to defeat their hope of a resurrection, x. 286.

Christmas-day, propriety of the Epistle and Gospel for, vii. 231.

Chronicles II. xxiv. 22, exposition of, xi. 256, &c.

Chrysostom, St., his distinction of God's will into antecedent and consequent, explained, v. 332. his charge of caution in administering the eucharist to the unworthy, xii. 238. observation of, on Rom. ch. xiii. 1, 313.

Church, the government of, better provided for by God than that of civil societies, ii. 101. in what sense she is the judge of Scripture according to Bellarmine, 182. authority of, no part of the rule of faith to the Israelites after Moses' death, 385. its beginning and increase foreshadowed by Sarah's offspring, 467. viii. 398. ministry of, how far necessary for faith, ii. 503. declarations of, the prime cause of Romanists' faith, 507—545. preaching the word and administration of the sacraments no infallible notes of a true church, vi. 367. miracles no certain note of, 369. the blood wherewith it is said to have been purchased, peculiarly the blood of the second Person in the Trinity, vii. 294. did not begin to be in being till the effusion of the Holy Ghost, viii. 486. xii. 79.

Church, variety of significations of the term, xii. 7. 9. 31. real definition of, gathered from comparison with divers sorts of union between bodies natural, artificial, or civil, 10, &c. its *summum genus, a congregation of men*, 10. its *genus proximum*, a corporation or body

politic, *ib.* differenced from civil societies by the diversity of its laws and manner of its union, 16. church, and civil commonwealth, not two opposite bodies but one body with different perfections, *ib.*

Church, the holy catholic, a treatise upon, xii. 5—184. easier to oppose a Romanist than to answer him, in disputes about, 7. how its attributes of holy and catholic modify each other, 18. imperfect definitions of, *ib.* the nature of the union of its members, 19. perpetuity and identity of, as a body politic, 22. 24. preeminences of, over other corporations in respect of its Governor and its laws, 23, &c. universality of, instead of impeaching sets forth its unity, 24. what makes it holy, *ib.* not expressly styled catholic in Scripture, 27. first called catholic by the composers of the Apostles' Creed, *ib.* called catholic in respect of all places, all conditions of men, and all times, 28. Bellarmine's exceptions against the description of, answered, 29. special points to be believed in the article of, 34. difference between the part of it triumphant, and the part militant, 36. all not bound to believe that they are real members of it, 37. visible and invisible, no true differences, but denominations merely accidental, 46. how said to be invisible, *ib.* defection from the catholic faith excludes from it, 103. men may be members of, though not members of any visible church, 134, &c. termed catholic either in a prime or analogical sense, 135.

Church, visible, its principal attributes or privileges, xii. 41, &c. *visible* and *invisible*, terms not contradistinct, but subordinate, 45. what is required to its constitution, 49. 108. whence the unity or plurality of visible churches arises, 54. not always the true church, 62, &c. Romanists' arguments for its glorious promises mostly sophistical, 62. did wholly Arianize in the time of Constantius and Valens, *ib.* Arianized in the councils of Millain and Sirmium, 63. none infallible, 65. how far the maxim, "*out of the church no salvation*," is true of visible churches, 89, &c. the extent of its right of excommunication, 99. how it encroached upon the attributes of the holy catholic church, shewn by an instance, 101. causes of separating from, should be most weighty, 105. for what causes we may separate from, 106. union with, only accidentally available to union with the holy catholic church, 133. constitution of, according to Romanists, 207. no complete independent commonwealth in ancient times, 221.

Church, militant and triumphant, how much this division comprehends, xii. 44.

Church authority, contrary error of Romanists and extreme reformers concerning it, xi. 172, &c. extent of, under heathen princes, and after princes were converted, 173.

Church governors, (see *Prelates.*)

Church revenues, alienated before the Reformation, xi. 166, &c. the abuse of, one cause of the Reformation, 166. as grievously abused since the Reformation by those who condemned their abuse, *ib.* 358. the abuse of, not the fault of the reformers, 168.

Churches, probable that there were as many visible and independent ones as there were Apostles, xii. 53. as many visible independent ones as kingdoms Christian, 58. what unity may be had between independent churches, 59.

Churches, the Romanists' dedication of, to saints idolatrous, iv. 268, &c. Bellarmine's apology for the same, 270.

Church of England, has as good means for settling controversies as the church of Rome, ii. 83. her doctrine concerning the extent of God's love shewn from her services, v. 151. her prayers for all conditions of men vindicated, *ib.* vi. 166. how she holds the mean between the doctrine that the priest's intention is essential to a sacrament, and the

doctrine of full particular assurance, xi. 199, &c. shewn to retain the holy catholic faith which the church of Rome has defiled, xii. 126, &c. the question where she was before Luther's time, answered, in the Romish church as gold in dross, 126—134. in separating from the church of Rome, she did as God's prophets or the Apostles would have done, 153, &c. the title of *catholic* proper to the faith professed by, 161, &c.

Church of Rome, our deliverance from, paralleled with that of the Israelites from Egypt, i. 296. pretensions of, destructive of the unity she professes to secure, ii. 86, &c. most needs to make up contentions, she causes so many, 90. means of, for preserving unity, may be understood in two senses, one of which is false, 93. the other ridiculous, 96. her impiety in binding men to believe mere negatives, 206. exacts absolute obedience in points which *may* be false, and if false are damnable, 207, &c. structure of, answers the idea of Antichrist, 266. (see *Antichrist*.) an idol more absurd than any which has ever existed, 284. her mockery parallel to that of atheists, 285. exalts the pope's laws above God's, 304, &c. her authority finds no precedent in that of Moses, 372, &c. xii. 48. nor in that of the church after his death, ii. 385, &c. nor in that of the prophets, 399, &c. her boasted extent and power only a proof of being Antichrist, 474. her grounds of faith lead to atheism and idolatry, 545, &c. chargeable with witchcraft, 583. identity of her idolatry with that of heathen Rome, iv. 203, &c. 329, &c. mixture of rhetorical exaggerations in her liturgy, 210. ascribes to saints titles which belong only to God, 254. pays to saints the same worship which she confesses to be due only to God, 264—277. her adoration of images compared to the Jews' devotion to Moses, 281, &c. her arguments for adoration of images, 303—324. legends of, paralleled by the fictions of heathen poets, 352, &c. prayer of, at the burial of infants, ix. 228. her slavery to Satan, 134, &c. her object of faith not the same as St. Peter's, x. 94. not built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, 97. an answer to the texts adduced for her glory, 188. unity of, not one of belief, shewn in the doctrine of transubstantiation, 259. her abuse of her excessive wealth one cause of the reformation, xi. 166. how those who judge her condemn themselves, even in points worthy of condemnation, *ib.* 168, &c. exorbitant claims of, for her clergy, 171. doubt of salvation justly charged upon, for holding the intention of the priest as essential to the validity of sacraments, 185, &c. gives her priests a negative voice in sacramental grace, 189. guilty of idolatry in transforming the divine nature into corrupt imaginations, 206. doctrine of her transcendent authority offensive to God and the public peace, xii. 6. the separation from, was just in respect of princes, states, and private persons, 108—125. to acknowledge her authority is treason against all free states, 109. 116. how a true church, and yet the synagogue of Satan, and seat of Antichrist, 144, &c. her idolatry why worse than that of heathens, 152. 279. convicted of heresy and schism by the rules of Vincentius, 163. new inventions by which she has defiled the faith, 165, &c. her title to captivate kingdoms, 203. claim of deposing kings a heresy peculiar to her, 241. her traitorous doctrine attempted to be supported by the story of Uzziah and Azariah, 243. and from the example of Jehoiada and Athaliah, 323. instances of her perverting God's principal laws, 277—281. the mystery of iniquity the peculiar character of, 282. plots against kings an essential part of her religion, 338. 341.

Chytræus v. 479. ix. 545.

Cicero, his testimony to the favour

shewn the Jews, i. 129. and to their influence at Rome, 144. assertion of, as to the universal notion of a Deity, iv. 13. explains the causes of the multiplicity of gods, 138. his defective definition of liberty, ix. 98. good notions of, concerning the slavery of vice, 111.

Circumcision, practised among the Saracens, i. 226. how made an everlasting seal, vii. 358. viii. 346. made a final seal by the sacrifice on the cross, vii. 358. 360. the continual practice of, by the Jews, a visible pledge of the incarnation, 359. the sacrament of, not abolished, but changed into that of baptism, *ib.* loathed till forbidden by the apostles, ix. 51.

Claremont, council of, occasioned ill to the Jews, i. 248.

Clement of Alexandria, iv. 157.

Clergy, why more given to pride and malice than the laity, ix. 48. made idols of by Romanists, and ciphers of by extreme reformers, xi. 172, &c. made an independent commonwealth, and the sole depositories of ecclesiastic power, by Romanists, xii. 200. may use, as well as any other Christian, all lawful means of resisting violence, 321. not debarred from mixing in the affairs of the commonwealth, 322.

Clovis, his conversion to Christianity, iv. 142.

Colleges, duties of the members of, iii. 260.

Comestor, Peter, tradition recorded by, of *the stone which the builders refused*, vii. 64.

Comines, Philip de, his religious comment on the fate of the earl of St. Paul, v. 483. history of Louis XI., 511. relates Savanorola's prediction of Charles VIII. invading Italy, vi. 120.

Commandments, distinction between moral and ceremonial, ix. 364.

Communion, the posture of kneeling at, the most decentand most consonant to the analogy of faith, vi. 488. the custom of the Greek church receiving it standing no justification of our doing the same, 491. kneeling at, pertly objected to by the nonconformist, xii. 286.

Communion in one kind, against the commandment of Christ, the practice of His apostles and the primitive church, ii. 211. council of Trent's proof of it from 1 Cor. iv. 1. a perversion of scripture, 218. a means of increasing the pope's power, 229. a late invention, x. 55. cardinal Tolet's argument for, refuted, 57, &c.

Competency, why better than affluence or indigence for preserving the notion of a God, iv. 23, &c.

Conception of Christ, the mystery of, foretold by Jeremiah, and typified by several instances in Jewish history, vi. 202—210. 234. vii. 163. 313. enigmatical predictions concerning, gradually unfolded, vii. 296. coincidence of the time of, with the time of his death and burial, viii. 355.

Condemnation, in what sense men are said to be ordained to, ix. 339.

Confidence, how a result of faith, iii. 149. can be no greater in Christ's mercies than our obedience to his law, 372, &c. the danger of confidence in our state of grace, ix. 493. (see *Assurance.*) how far true that faith is confidence, 555. xi. 192, &c. Christian, distinguished from heathen boldness, x. 167.

Confirmation, the necessity of, ix. 548. the church of England's law concerning, not defective, but disobeyed, 549.

Conscience, office of, x. 156. witnesses to a final judgment confirming its own, 157. 361. checks and gratulations of, pledges of the twofold award at the last day, 158. 364. the confidence of a good one unreal unless placed upon its true grounds, 167. the books of, to be opened at doomsday, 229. an evil one flies the presence of men, 357. what is meant by its worm that never dies, 389. 393. the sting of, the truest representation of the second death, 456. right use of its regrets distinguished from carelessness and despair, 457. peace of (see *Peace*).

continues to work while we are sinning, xi. 238.
Consistory, Romish, imagined catechism of, ii. 546. 555.
Constantius, emperor, his dialogue with pope Liberius, xii. 140.
Consubstantiation, ground of the doctrine, ix. 598. not supported by the ancient fathers, *ib.* x. 41. attempt of the later Lutherans to support it by the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body, x. 26.
Contemplation, a means of more solid knowledge than lively wit, iv. 422.
Contingency, may be the object of infinite Wisdom, v. 87—93. how united with necessity in the decrees of God, 92. xi. 385. how subject to divine Providence, v. 264, &c. not a name for a mere fictitious thing, 293, &c. as much an entity of God's making as necessity, *ib.* ix. 30. not a relative, but an absolute entity, v. 294. a mean between a necessity of being and not being, 295. is possible, and part of the object of Omnipotence, 295, &c. as necessarily presupposed in the production of events fatal, as necessity is included in them, 351. what at one time a contingency becomes in revolution of time necessary, 369. could be no free will without, ix. 30. meaning of, in true philosophy, 176. not confined to second causes, *ib.*
Contradiction, whether *something* or *nothing*, v. 218. the only limit of Omnipotent power, *ib.* ix. 487. x. 247. 249. 254. how worse than nothing, v. 219. the rule of, the only test of falsehood and impossibility, 220.
Conversion either moral or spiritual, ix. 212. many degrees of, 213. men mere passives in, 214. how far it may be said to be from our works, 225, &c. 441. how far wrought by God's spirit, and how far by ourselves, 239, &c. 444. wherein the accomplishment of, consisteth, 248, &c.
Coppen, viii. 40. his annotations on psalm lxxxix. 36, p. 321.
Corinthians, Ep. I. xv. 16—20. argument of explained, vol. vii. p. 305, &c.
ch. xv. 19. applicable only to times of persecution, vol. vii, p. 365.
ch. xv. 35. exposition of, vol. x. p. 261, &c.
ch. xvi. 22. meaning of the imprecation in, vol. x. p. 171.
—— Ep. II. xiii. 5. expounded, vol. vii. p. 155. does not mean an assurance of personal election, p. 158.
Cornelius, bishop of Rome, opposed by Novatian on the doctrine of absolution, ix. 564.
Corner Stone, in what sense Christ is the chief, x. 88.
Corvinus, king of Hungary, his dialogue with Gattus, viii. 203.
Councils, popish, uncertainty of, ii. 294.
Councils, provincial, granted by Romanists to be as authentic as general ones, if confirmed by the pope, ii. 104. note.
Counterpassion (see *Retaliation*).
Courage, the difference between heathen and Christian, iii. 250. passive, the best test of faith, 251.
Court of the priests, what it typified, ix. 518.
Covell, Dr., xii. 145.
Covenant, different kinds of, viii. 281. 282. (see *League.*) in what sense equivalent to an act of commutative justice, 281. of what kind God's covenant with Abraham was, 282. 284. how it differs from a testament, ix. 524. two covenants of God, one of justice, another of mercy, 577.
Cramer, viii. 28.
Crassus, his misfortunes and death owing to sacrilege, i. 138. an instance of judicial blindness, *ib.*
Creation, does not presuppose a passive subject to work upon, v. 236, &c. peculiar to Omnipotence, 262. presupposes a possibility of being, x. 248. 250. creation at first not easier than recreation after annihilation, 249. is the making a thing out of nothing, *ib.* 256. the doctrine of, abused by Romanists to support transubstantiation, 254. creation

and preservation but two stages of the same power, 270.
Creation, two main principles contained in the article of, v. 224. the article of, defended against the atheist maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit*, 225, &c. difficulties which its denial causes in natural philosophy, 247. not the work of one day, 255. the sum of what we are to believe respecting it, 283. what duty the article of creation requires of us, 285. xi. 55. the creation of the world how contingent, v. 296. x. 248. the six days of, represent the six ages of the world, viii. 231. the omission of any mention of an evening of the seventh day an emblem of a mystery, *ib.* 477. the first day of, paralleled with the day of Christ's resurrection, 483. *nothing* the precedent, not preexistent, term of it, ix. 227. the heavens and the earth created of *nothing*, *ib.* herbs and animals created of the earth, not as a material or concurrent cause, but *tanquam ex termino positivo*, ib. a free work of God, x. 551.
Creative power, whether it can be delegated, v. 258. not different from power sustentative, x. 270.
Creatures, more dependent on the Creator than natural or artificial effects on their efficients, v. 265. their dependence resembled to that of borrowed light on the sun, 267. whether any could be, from their first creation, impeccable, ix. 12. the coexistence of, with time arises from no essential dependance, but from the mere will of God, x. 248, &c.
Credulity, how far of the nature of virtue or vice, ii. 404.
Creed, the Apostles', all the articles of, foreshadowed in the Old Testament, vii. 48.
Cross, Romish hymn to, iv. 222. a stumblingblock to Jews, viii. 154. how far typified by the brazen serpent, 157. prefigured by the lintels and doorposts in Egypt, 164.
Crucifying, what is meant by crucifying the flesh, ix. 210. not a term indivisible, but of large extent, 211. (see *Mortification.*)
Ctesias, undeserved mistrust of his fables, i. 72, 73.
Cullen, provincial council of, xii. 47.
Cup in the eucharist, acknowledged by the Trent council to have been used of old, yet forbidden by it, ii. 211. a queen poisoned by means of it, *ib.* an essential part of the eucharist, 224. the pope allowed by Trent council to grant it to private men or whole nations, 229.
Cusanus, said that Christ suffered hell pains, vii. 488.
Cuthbert, St., a French cardinal's address at his tomb, i. 339.
Cydias, his equivocating oath punished, viii. 266.
Cyprian, St., maxim of, *he that hath not the church for his mother cannot have God for his father*, when true, ii. 503. xii. 91. authority of, for the necessity of works for justifying faith, iii. 163. his antidote against the desire of martyrdom for vainglory, 252. maxim of, for knowing God, to know ourselves first, ix. 2. 34.
Cyril of Alexandria, viii. 241.
Cyrus, raised up by God for special purposes, v. 404. the final cause of his success, 407. his success in gaining confederates foretold in scripture, 408. his device for taking Babylon foretold by Jeremiah, 414.

Damascene, distinguishes well between God's antecedent and consequent will, v. 332.
Damned, God's will fulfilled in the condemnation of, though He wills all to be saved, v. 189. 190. the punishment of, either essential or accidental, x. 389. (see *Second Death.*) their sufferings increased by having partners in their misery, 389.
Danes, on their conversion to Christianity, allotted tithes to their king and bishops, viii. 248.
Danæus, viii. 500.
Daniel, his prophecy of the seventy weeks how fulfilled, vi. 174. ch. vii. 9, 10. commented on, in connexion with other scriptures, x.

210, &c. ch. vii. 13. the literal meaning of, x. 185.
Dardanus, his question as to Christ's session, ix. 510.
Darius, infatuated by God's special providence, v. 396.
David, had a clear view of the incarnation of his Lord, vii. 267. example of, as to the sanctity of oaths, viii. 269.
Day of the Lord, the great and terrible, not to be limited to one day, i. 212.
Dead, inordinate affection to the, an occasion of idolatry, iv. 189.
Dead sea, left as a representative of hell, x. 388.
Death, of two sorts, either natural or civil, x. 333. the wages of sin, 374.
——— (bodily,) though an interruption to our existence, yet does not destroy the unity of our bodily nature, x. 302. the degrees of, to be measured by the degrees of life, of which it is the privation, 374. more terrible to man than brutes from the thought of what may follow after, 376. the thought of, more grievous in proportion to our worldly contentments, *ib.* not safe to solicit it, 377. God's wrath sharpens the instruments and increases the terrors of, xi. 117.
——— (the second,) wherein it exceeds the first, x. 378, &c. a perpetual living to deadly pains, *ib.* 385. commensurable with the body of sin, 379. 449. the torments of, made greater by the increase of our passive sense of pain, and the increased vehemency of the active objects, 380. the duration of its pains, 385. its three dimensions—intensity, eternity, and continuity of pains, *ib.* description of, in scripture, 387. the punishment of, either essential or accidental, 389. practical effect of our belief in, 435. unbelief of, the cause of sin, 439. how we may learn to estimate it, 444. how meditation upon, may supply different men with different remedies for sin, 449. the art of meditation upon, 454. meditations upon here best fit us for eternal life hereafter, 460.
Death unto sin, what is meant by, x. 334. how the effect of baptism, 335.
Decalogue, only rule and standard of proper and spurious shame, x. 351. the predicaments of duties, xi. 87.
Decree, the divine, immutable, inevitable, and eternal, v. 110. is not an act passed, 111. 284. immutability of, not inconsistent with liberty of human actions, 293, &c. vi. 130. a disjunctive proposition may be the object of, v. 320, &c. 326. embraces opposite possibilities, *ib.* nothing can fall out contrary to, though God hath decreed that many things may fall out otherwise than they do, 292, &c. in what sense true that all things are necessary in respect of it. 362. supposes a subject capable of diverse awards, 363. consistency of, with liberty of human actions manifested in the history of Judah and Israel, 375, &c. how it becomes inevitable, 386. allots a different success to every possible choice of man, 388. the gross error: that by it all human actions are so necessary that nothing could fall out otherwise than it does, refuted, ix. 30. 202. 333, &c. the necessary consequence of this error: either God is the author of sin, or there is no such thing as moral evil, 368. not terminated to men's individual persons (see *Election.*) the same man for substance, but diversely qualified, a different object of, 485. x. 559.
Decree, rigid, sad effects of the doctrine of, ix. 376. Lutheran deductions from, 380, 381. Jesuits wish the doctrine of, sown amongst us, 383. doctrine of, came into England through Zuinglius from Romish schoolmen, 536. makes Christ a mere sacrifice and no priest, a doomsman and not a judge, 536, 537. a way to purge our brains of this doctrine, to consider the last sentence, x. 459.
Definition, difference between merely dialectic and philosophical, ix. 67.
Deity, treatise on the original of mispersuasions concerning the verity, unity, and attributes of, iv. 5—427. original of heathens'

multiplicity of deities, 115. on transformations of, 346. qualifications for conceiving aright of, 403.
Delilah, by heathen poets made Scylla, i. 99.
Delphi, a counterfeit of Jerusalem, i. 64.
Delrius, iv. 167.
Desires, the gratification of natural ones often mistaken for Christian love, iii. 245. how natural may be altered into spiritual, 458. ix. 251. not satisfied in this life, x. 398. every desire has a corresponding duty, xi. 58. the most dangerous are those which proceed from an esteem of our own worth, 227.
Desolation, the prognostics of it, xi. 83. 101, &c.
Despair, how the danger of, is to be avoided, x. 458.
Deucalion's flood a counterfeit of the real one, i. 103, &c.
Deuteronomy xviii. 15., as much prophetical of Christ's resurrection as of His first birth, vol. ii. 466. ch. xxxii. 43, the meaning of, more fully expressed by the Septuagint than by the Hebrew, x. 118.
Devils, how they believe, i. 4. despair in, a consequent of their belief that God is, 9.
Dion Cassius, his favourable account of the Jews, i. 151. his account of the siege of Jerusalem, 185. his description of the eruption of Vesuvius compared with our Lord's prophecy of the signs of the times, i. 199. 211. vi. 182. x. 202. his account of the siege of the Saracens by Trajan and Severus, i. 228, &c. history of the Jewish war under Adrian, 235, &c.
Discretion, the selfish interpretation of it by many, iii. 247.
Disjunctive proposition, may be the object of God's decree, v. 326. xi. 385.
Disobedience, distinguished from non-obedience and resistance, xii. 326. always includes or presupposes some sin, *ib.*
Disputation not the readiest way to cure atheism, iv. 11.
Divine, qualifications of a good one, vii. 138, &c. besides morals, should have skill in meaner faculties, *ib.* (see *Theology*.)
Divinity, only rule to discover impiety of opinions in, is by shewing their contradiction to some of God's attributes or to some scripture asseveration, v. 221.
Doctrine, errors in, not so opposed to faith as sinful practices, iii. 258. how errors in, are worse than evil practices, xi. 166.
Dodona, a counterfeit of Shiloh, i. 64.
Dominicans, more faulty than Zuinglius and his followers, on the doctrine of original sin, ix. 22.
Dominion, not founded on grace, ix. 5. what it is, x. 106. either power of jurisdiction or right of property, 107.
Dorney, iv. 171.
Dort, council of, ix. 371.
Doubt, what kind of, makes an action sinful, i. 373, &c. how St. Paul's words *he that doubteth is condemned* are to be limited, *ib.* may exist while we render obedience, and yet imply no sin, 380. only a concurring cause of making our actions sinful, 387. the absence of, in actions simply evil, often an exaggeration of the evil, 389. every doubt warrants not denial of obedience, 392. a mean between assent and dissent, iii. 28.
Δουλεία, (see λατρεία,) prohibited to be paid to men or angels by the examples of St. Peter and St. John, iv. 238, &c.
Drahomira of Bohemia, her strange death an instance of God's retributive justice, v. 541.
Dreams, divine origin of, intimated in heathen poets, i. 55. understood as warnings, 56. frequent among the patriarchs, *ib.* afforded by God to eminent Gentiles, 58. the cause of their ceasing to be warnings proved from the case of Saul, 58, 59. Strabo's account of Moses' doctrine of, 59. dream of queen Bassina, 83. often prognostics of truth, x. 161. how influenced by our bodily temperament, *ib.*
Driedo, ii. 23.
Druids, held the doctrine of transmigration of souls before Pythagoras, x. 242.

Drusius, iv. 7. remark of, on the omission of the Hebrew guttural by modern Jews, vii. 365.
Duelling, the practice of, among professing Christians shews unbelief as great as that of infidels, iii. 217. the result of false shame, x. 355.
Durand, ii. 505.
Duty, partiality in, a proof of spuriousness, iii. 244. x. 584. not to be separated from reward, x. 154.
Dwell in Christ, how we are said to dwell in Him and He in us, x. 76, &c.
Dying men, the sayings of, remarkable, xi. 256.

Ecclesiastic writers, of the first age, why silent on the wonders of that age, i. 209.
Education, generally necessary for nurturing faith, ii. 390.
Ego non sum Ego, the same man a diverse object of God's decrees, ix. 485.
Egyptians, their account of man's propagation, i. 104. claims of, to antiquity not dissonant to scripture, 106. their imitation of the Urim and Thummim, ii. 312. causes which led to their idolatry, iv. 194.
Elect, the division of men into elect and reprobates leads to presumption or despair, ix. 312. 553. xi. 193. xii. 37. special favour of God to them, ix. 572. need Christ's constant intercession, 578. distinction of, from reprobates made at the visitation of Jerusalem, and not to be made again till the final judgment, x. 192. distinction between the *elect* and the *elect people of God*, 337.
Election, how far it may be said to be *ex prævisis operibus*, ix. 225, &c. 441. points connected with, not to determine, but to be determined by, more general points, 298. the result of a complete measure of mortification and obedience, as instanced in Caleb and Joshua, 305, &c. and in Abraham, 309. decree of, not terminated to men's individual persons, but to their works of righteousness, 315. 370. 473. 483. 570. x. 459, 554. not necessary from eternity, ix. 316. immature persuasions of our state in election hatch slander, pride, and hypocrisy, 374, &c. x. 440, 548. xi. 198. the common doctrine of, a perversion of the tenor of the gospel, x. 359. premature conceit of, a more dangerous error than confidence in works, 547. 555.
Eli, how far the sentence denounced against him extended, viii. 303.
Emanuel, king of Portugal, his treatment of the Jews, i. 270.
Emicho slays 1200 Jews, i. 248.
EMMANUEL, the birth of, denied by some commentators to have been any sign to Ahaz, vii. 330. neither applies to Shear-jashub nor Hezekiah, 333. the promise of, first fulfilled in Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 337. 338. the name mystically fulfilled in Christ, 339. historical importance of the name, 343. why it was not given to our Lord at His circumcision, 348.
Enemies, to do good to them, a law of nature as well as of grace, xi. 18. arguments from Christianity for doing good to, 24, &c.
Enoch, prophecy of, as to the final judgment, x. 169. his prophecy notorious among the Jews, 170. a type of Christ, *ib.*
Ens, a concrete term, and inapplicable to God, v. 24. derives its nature from Him who is essence itself, *ib.*
Enthusiasm, how it perverts the sense of scripture, iv. 392.
Enthusiast, how he agrees with the Romanists as to the manner in which the Spirit leads into all truth, xii. 175.
Ephesians, ch. ii. 20. explained, x. 85, &c.
Epicurus, censured for denying pity to the divine nature, v. 120. origin of the error of his moral system, x. 164. grounds of his principle that *nature abhors vice*. ib.
Epiphanius, iv. 215. opinion of, as to the date of our Lord's baptism, vi. 432.
Erasmus, vii. 390. his prayer for the peace of the church, viii. 180. his resolution of the question

whether Christ should be called a servant or a son, 349. his translation of Gal. ch. iv. 25, xii. 73.
Erastus, charges Paracelsus with Arianism, iv. 170. opinion of, as to the right of excommunication, xii. 55.
Eratosthenes, makes the object of poetry to be mere delight, i. 90.
Errors in religion, some *ex specie* deadly, xii. 94. some *ex specie* dangerous, but not deadly, 97. all do not cut us off from church communion, 98. how all may become deadly, *ib.*
Esau, all men in some sort more foolish than, x. 393.
Espenseus, ix. 24.
ESSENCE, the Incomprehensible, how far we may seek to express our conceptions concerning, v. 7, &c. three errors noticed by St. Austin in setting forth His nature, 11. two maxims which lead to the acknowledgment of, 13, &c. unlimited itself, and the cause of limits to all other beings, 18. is truly One, but no one Thing, 23. alone truly said *to be*, 24, &c. His unity includes all multiplicity, 26. how all things are said to be in Him, 34, &c. no plurality of perfections in, 38. absolute identity of, 40. not comprehended by time or place, 46. must necessarily be wherever his power, wisdom, and goodness are, 46—48. how everywhere essentially present, 49.
ETERNAL, the One, in what way we must conceive of His infinity, v. 65. in what sense said to be before all worlds, 73.
Eternity, various definitions of, examined, v. 66, 67, &c. in what way indivisible, 70, &c. comprehends all time, 91.
Eucharist, the cup an essential part of, ii. 224. (See *Cup.*) each time of taking it, with due preparation, is a stage in the crucifixion of the flesh, ix. 211. efficacy of Christ's sacrifice and priesthood in, 594, &c. contains a propitiation for sin, but not a propitiatory sacrifice, 595. how Christ is really present in it, *ib.* (see *Real presence.*) not a mere commemorative rite, *ib.* real communication of Christ's body and blood in, without transubstantiation, 598. x. 49. twofold eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood in it, sacramental and spiritual, x. 51. parts of preparation for, 71, &c. 373. necessity of partaking of, 329. one special use of, in the primitive church, was to renew the baptismal vow, 373. regarded with suspicion by the Roman state, *ib.*
Eulogius, viii. 204.
Euphrates, the same name as Perath, i. 116.
Eusebius, his story of Biblis, x. 448.
Eutyches, his heresy, xii. 97.
Evidence, nature of, explained, iii. 41, &c. what kind is required in faith, *ib.*
Evil, whence the first inclination to, sprung, and how it is increased, v. 126. has a positive entity, 280. vii. 405. punishment of it good, and so a necessary part of God's will, v. 331. inclinations to, hereditary, ix. 62. how far involuntary, 124. x. 430. notions of good and evil naturally implanted in our souls, x. 155.
Examination of ourselves, consists of two parts, x. 73. necessity of, xi. 234.
Excommunication, the most fearful form of, among the Jews, ix. 346. x. 170. error of Erastus concerning, xii. 55. causes which led to a diminution of its power, 56. mean concerning it between the Romanists and extreme reformers, 94. the power of the church in, limited by some to a mere declaratory sentence of those who have already excommunicated themselves, *ib.* in what cases it is merely a declaratory sentence, 95, &c. power of, possessed by the visible church even for errors not deadly, 99.
Exigencies of times, exact abridgment of liberty, xi. 80. exact special sympathy from ministers and magistrates, 81—109.
Exodus, ch. iv. 13, interpreted of our Lord, ii. 462. vi. 309. ch. vi. 3, interpretation of, vii. 370. paraphrase on the eleven first chapters of, ix. 384, &c.

Experiments confirming the truth of scripture, divided under three heads, i. 25. from the style of the writings, 26—39. from the affections of the writers, 39. these two kinds, difficult to impart to others, 48, 49. experiments drawn from external events, 50, &c. diverse according to men's vocations and dispositions, 51, &c. drawn from the state of the Jews before our Lord's time, 126. from the ill success of Pompey and other Romans, 130, &c. from the state of the Jews in captivity, 152, &c. from their final desolation, 173. from the character of the Saracens, 218. 228. from the persecution of the Jews by Trajan and Adrian, 235. from the Jews' estate after dissolution of Roman empire to their coming to England, 243, &c. from their persecutions in England, France, and other countries, 257. &c. experiments in ourselves, instanced in St. Peter and other Scripture characters, 300, &c. directions for making such experiments, 308.

Faber (Peter), vii. 373.

Fabius Ursinus, cardinal, his blessing on Boydon for the massacre at Lyons, ii. 578.

Fables, heathen, no prejudice to divine truth, i. 52. derived from real wonders recorded in scripture, 68. 85—118.

Fagius (Paul), his interpretation of Gen. ch. iv. 1, vol. vi. 360. vii. 298. authority of, on the Chaldee paraphrase, vii. 243. unjustly slights the interpretations of the LXX, 245. his interpretation of Exod. ch. vi. 3, p. 370.

Faith, *whatever is not of faith is sin*, explained, i. 373. vi. 98. xii. 291. how it admits of increase not only in strength, but in extension, i. 398. implicit faith, what it is, 413. Bellarmine's syllogistic resolution of its acts, ii. 188, &c. generally dependent on early education, 390. objects of, always the same, but the means of apprehending different, 504. how distinguished by Romanists from Theology, 515. resolution of, twofold, 519. justifying faith, its nature and properties explained, iii. 18, &c. how we differ from Romanists as to its object, 18. wherein we differ among ourselves about it, 19. division of, into historical and salvifical not good, 23. saving faith subordinate to historical, 24. vii. 8. what evidence is necessary for, iii. 41, &c. school tenet that it is an assent unevident, examined, 49. a definition of, 54. does not belong to the will apart from the understanding, 58, &c. its first office to subdue the affections and win them to good, 81. is a spiritual prudence, 82. how connected with charity, 83. inspires every affection as breath does several organs, *ib.* the first of Christian virtues, and the last we must rely upon, 85. its character illustrated by instances from scripture, 86—120. includes a just estimation of God's attributes, and regulation of the affections consequent, 135. includes a taste for spiritual things, 140. complete definition of, 144. three properties of, love, fidelity, and confidence, 146. distinguished into active and passive, 150. different senses of, in Scripture and the Fathers, 159, &c. how perfected by charity, 173. that which works miracles specifically the same as justifying faith, 174. comes not by extramission of our affections to Christ, but by intromission of His image into our souls, 244. better tried by passive than active courage, 251. the soul of good works, and equally respects all the commandments, 267. how we are justified by, (see *Justification*,) how it differs from repentance, 358. on the right plantation of, 378, &c. difficulty of Protestants concerning its acquisition, 379. human endeavours required to the plantation of it, 380. following the rules of scripture a sure way to obtain it, 385. self-denial the most compendious way to obtain it, 389. 455. strength of, to be measured relatively to opposing desires, 403. Christ's parables sovereign rules for its

plantation and growth, 415. supernatural faith necessary for believing truths which may be known by reason, iv. 77. grounded on God's word, vi. 348, &c. nourished by the same scriptures from which it sprung, 440. how an instrument in the sacraments, ix. 611.

Faithful, how they differ from unbelievers in the duty of thankfulness to God, xi. 53.

Fall of man, harder to persuade men that it was not necessary, than that his perseverance was not necessary, and why, ix. 16.

Falsehood, none which does not include some degree of contradiction, v. 219. the rule of contradiction the only test of it, 220.

Fasting, a proper self-imposed affliction, iv. 76. x. 467. its especial use for charity, x. 587.

Fate, different acceptations of, among heathens, v. 336, &c. use of the word prohibited by St. Austin, *ib.* how far the word may be used among Christians, 337. connexion of, with necessity and chance, according to heathens, 344, &c. every event of, necessary, but not every necessary event fatal, *ib.* the nature and subject of, 351, &c. the good and orthodox fate, 353. ix. 160, 161. error of the Stoics concerning, v. 361. subordinate to God's providence, 389.

Fates, divided by heathens into good and bad, greater and lesser, v. 341. a glimpse of a Christian truth in this division, *ib.* diversity of, shewn in the erection and decline of kingdoms, 374, &c.

Fathers, how they used the authority of the church, ii. 18. Scripture the best weapon they knew, 19. authority of, for the number of canonical books, 169. their manner of advancing their opinions an encouragement to individuals to sift the truth, 173. their different senses of faith, iii. 159, &c. illustrations used by, to prove the possibility of the body's resurrection, x. 264. 287.

Fear, the nurse of religion and devotion, iv. 66. this instanced in heathens, 67. the senses of seeing and hearing the chief inlets of, x. 198.

Fear of God, a necessary requisite for prayer, vi. 59. means for producing it, 63.

Feasts of the seventh month, to what they severally referred, viii. 54, &c.

Feast of dedication, when and for what purpose instituted, viii. 62.

—— of atonement, how formally fulfilled by Christ, vi. 433. and fully accomplished in His death, viii. 55. 163, &c. 347. 350. lawful for Christians to commemorate it, 347. the translation of, from Tisri to Abib, implied in the change of the Jewish year, 355.

Feed my lambs—feed my sheep, explained, ii. 243—249.

Ferdinand and Isabella, their persecutions of the Jews, i. 269.

Fern seed, superstition about it, iv. 166.

Ficinus, his description of eternity, v. 70.

Fidelity, how distinguished from active faith, iii. 150.

Fides est fiducia how far true, ix. 555. xi. 199. how the truth is misplaced by some of reformed churches, xi. 192.

Fiducia, (see *Confidence.*)

Field, Dr., vii. 281. his answer to the question, Where was your church before Luther? xii. 126.

Fiesco, (Fliscus), count of Genoa, the miscarriage of his conspiracy an instance of divine providence, v. 491.

Firmus, (bishop), story of, related by St. Augustin, x. 151.

Fitzherbert, interprets the scripture injunctions of self-denial as evangelical counsels intended only for a few, iii. 395. his account of the assassination of the duke of Guise, xii. 339.

Flaccus Illyricus, his definition of original sin, how far right, how far blameable, ix. 64.

Flesh, sometimes signifies our bodily substance, sometimes our corrupt nature, ix. 195. what is meant by the works of, *ib.* all have a flesh to mortify, 204, how mortified by us, and how by the Spirit, 212, &c. (see *Mortification.*)

Flodden, battle of, v. 467.
Florence, council of, made the intention of the priest to be of the very essence of a sacrament, xi. 187.
Forbes, Mr., maintains the papacy to be Antichrist, xii. 145.
Foreknowledge, whether properly there is any in God, or science only, v. 96. the difference between God's and man's, 97, &c.
Forerius, his defence of, and dealing with the vulgar translation, ii. 140. authority of, quoted as to the nature of justifying faith, iii. 167. note.
Forewarnings of God, if neglected, hasten and increase His judgments, vi. 80. treatise upon, 110—189. always given to cities and nations before great calamities, 117. instances of, 119—126. use to be made of, 126, &c. several sorts of, 134.
Forms intelligible, the doctrine of, considered, iv. 81, &c.
Fortune and chance, to make them causes, only the error of later and degenerate ages, iv. 37. what they meant in the language of heathens, v. 348. distinction between them made by Plutarch, *ib.*
Fountains, why superstitiously worshipped, iv. 178. 183.
France, state of, indicated by Bassina's dream, i. 84.
Free agent, defined, ix. 174. God not such in respect of evil, 177. devils not such in respect of good, 179.
Freedom, wherein the best heathens erred in their definition of, ix. 98. true freedom is to will what we ought, and do what we will, *ib.* absolute freedom only in God, 100. diverse meanings of the word, 165, &c. different degrees of, in creatures, from inanimate to rational, *ib.* a radical prerogative of reason above sense, 177. differs in fallen angels and unregenerate men, 181. in natural men not equal in respect of diverse objects, 184. if indulged in evil produces a necessity of doing evil, 186.
Free-will, mean concerning it, between Pelagianism and Stoicism, iii. 388. vi. 486. xi. 382. how consistent with God's foreknowledge, v. 89. 93. a complete definition of, obtained by adding reason to contingency, 295. mean concerning, between the opinions of Lutherans and Calvinists, Jesuits and Dominicans, vi. 486. in the sense of *libera voluntas*, distinguished from the power of free agency, *liberum arbitrium*, ix. 92. 174. 259. how given to man at his creation, 101. the main point concerning it, not well stated since the apostles' time, 160. why the question about, has made little progress, 162, &c. the immediate result of the reflective power, 171. of two sorts, of contradiction or of contrariety, 176. not possessed even by God in respect of every object, 177. how far lost by Satan, 179. how far possessed by upright angels, 180. how far possessed by unregenerate man, 181, &c. proved from vows, 188. how much remains in debauched sinners, 190. needless speculations about it an occasion of negligence in well doing, 258. how far it is in every man's power to exercise it, 260, &c. the concurrence of grace and free-will most pithily expressed in the prayer, *Prevent us, O Lord*, &c., 263. implies no merit in our works, x. 597.
Friends, what considerations should influence Christians in the choice of, x. 281.
Friendship, an unchristian kind often used as a cover for the neglect of Christian love, iii. 249.

Gabriel, meaning of the name, vi. 215. 242. vii. 482. why expressly mentioned in the history of the annunciation, vi. 215.
Galatians iv. 21—24, full explication of the allegory contained in, xii. 70—79.
Galatinus (Peter), records a tradition of the blessed Virgin's freedom from original sin, vii, 425.
Galen, his explanation of punishment on the doctrine of necessity, v. 305. forced from his observation of the human body to acknowledge a divine Maker, x. 313.

Galilæans, whose blood Pilate mingled, &c., who these probably were, vi. 111.
Gallant, a profane one, cured by a text of holy scripture, x. 451.
Gaudentius, authority of, cited by the author of the *Guide of Faith,* xii. 67.
Genebrand, his interpretation of Ps. xl. 6, vol. viii. 86. remarks of, on Ps. cix., p. 128.
Genera singulorum and *singula generum,* distinction between, v. 149. viii. 218. xi. 367.
Genesis iii. 15, mystical sense of, viii. 394. ch. xlii. 21, commented on, xi. 217—256.
Genethliaci, mentioned by St. Austin, (out of Varro,) as holding a reproduction after death of the same man, x. 243. their error may facilitate the Christian's belief as to the resurrection, 244.
Gentiles, their portion in the Son of Jesse, vi. 251.
Gentilism, found more or less in the customs of all countries, iii. 216. instanced in several virtues, 246—253. leaven of, in Roman church service, iv. 335.
Gentility, retains the substance of Gentilism, iii. 217.
Gerard, viii. 70.
Gerson, his caveat to the pope about canonizing saints, ii. 582. his rule for testing miracles, iv. 213. observes that every judge sustains a double character, vii. 394.
Gerundensis, authority of, as to the occasion, date, and execution of the decree of Augustus mentioned by St. Luke, vii. 320.
Giants, appearance of, at an eruption of Vesuvius, i. 214.
Gift of God, different senses of, x. 530.
Gilpin, Mr., his reason for renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation, x. 55.
Glory, the communication of infinite glory is finite, x. 30.
God, the notion of, natural to all men, iv. 13. how it comes to be defaced in many, *ib.* what state of life most fit for preserving the belief of, 23, &c. origin of the heathens' transformation of, 346. misrepresentations of, by the corrupt professors of true religion, 360. innate sense of His presence, 418. method for conceiving aright of Him, 427. His attribute of immensity explained, v. 42—60. His attribute of eternity explained, 60—78. in what sense said to be before all worlds, 73. His infinite power, how manifested in the creature, 78, &c. His infinite wisdom explained, 83, &c. whether he possesses foreknowledge or science only, 96. His immutability does not exclude liberty, 105. His all-sufficiency exempts Him from intending evil to His creatures, 128. how His will is said to be the rule of goodness, 132. ix. 366. 463. the extent of His love to all men, as they are men, v. 143. how peculiarly our Father, 145. in what sense He wills all men to be saved, 155. xi. 364—392. His will not frustrated, though His offers of love prove ineffectual, v. 163, &c. xi. 374, &c. how affections are said to be in Him, v. 200. why called *the Lord of Hosts,* 459. in what sense He is said to repent, vi. 91. viii. 300. three original names for, vii. 369. His incomprehensible nature designated by His ineffable name, 371. does not possess free-will in respect of every object, ix. 177, &c. His will, though immutable, may ordain mutable things, 450. 496. 571. His decree can never prejudice His omnipotence, 488. immensity and omnipotency the two branches of His infinity, x. 26. all extraordinary manifestations of, terrible, 199. is able, were all things annihilated, to reproduce them numerically the same, 248, &c. His power sustentative and cooperative, x. 266. His power greater in ordinary works of nature than in many miracles, 269. the power by which He preserves all things, the same as that by which He created them, 270. His extraordinary works always have some rare end, 312. our service due to Him by right of creation and redemption, 363. how present to all, though they are far

from Him, 405. was under no natural, moral, or politic necessity to create the world, 551. His power always exercised with a salvo to His justice and mercy, xi. 377. wills some things absolutely and others disjunctively, 385. v. 326.

GODHEAD, a plurality of persons in, to be inferred from the representations of God in the Old Testament, vii. 214.

Godescalchus, a Dutch priest, persuades the king of Hungary to kill the Jews, i. 249.

Godfrey, duke of Bulloigne, his refusal to wear a golden crown in Jerusalem, xi. 95.

Gods heathen, apparitions of, a poetical imitation of real divine appearances, i. 68, &c. the origin of their multiplicity, iv. 115, &c.

Golden rule, *Do as you would be done by*, how far it holds, vii. 394. the meaning of it lost, ix. 158. a rule of good works, x. 567. the essence of the law and the prophets, xi. 5. a principle of nature, 9. 241. admiration of, shewn by the emperor Severus, 9. two grounds of its equity, the actual equality of all men in nature, and the possible equality of all in condition, 10. exceptions against, stated and answered, 13—17. does not forbid seeking the protection of law, 16. to be understood of a regulated will, 17. 45. obliges us to do good to all men as they are men, 18, &c. 74. obligations and motives for it from Christianity, greater than nature could supply, 22, &c. virtually contains all the Ten Commandments, 42, &c. objection to, that it establishes the Pythagorean retaliation, answered, 45. the duty implied in, to be paid not in kind but in proportion, 47. how not violated by a public magistrate in inflicting punishment upon offenders, 48. two impediments which obstruct the practice of, 65. the best means for right practising it, 67, &c. regards first the wants of the necessitous, 75. affliction the ordinary discipline by which God teaches it to us, 243.

Gomarists, their controversy with Arminians, ix. 258.

Good, the authors of, worshipped as gods, because God is the author of all good, iv. 118, &c. how a lesser comes to be chosen before a greater, x. 500. to do good to others the most compendious way to do good to ourselves, xi. 31. good things only pleasant whilst they relish of God's goodness, 53.

Good men, God in punishing them respects their former good works, x. 549. are and should be most religious in worst times, xi. 87. why not esteemed till after death, 273, 274.

Goodness, essentially contained in truth, iii. 62. iv. 374, 375. how it differs from truth, iii. 65. the attribute of, the most inseparable from the divine nature, iv. 21. xi. 375. experience of it brings forth the express conceit of a God, *ib.* goodness transcendental and communicative, v. 116, &c. absolute goodness the object of God's will, 133. how God's will is said to be the rule of, *ib.* ix. 366. 463. objective goodness precedent in nature to the exercise of God's will, ix. 359.

Good Friday, the observance of, as a day of humiliation, common and lawful both to Jews and Christians, viii. 347. how celebrated by Jews, 348. more correct to call it *Good Friday* than *the day of our atonement*, 349.

Goropius, remark of, on the dialects of modern languages, ii. 21.

Gospel, prerogative of, as opposed to the law, x. 205. privileges of, not absolute, but conditional, *ib.*

Goths, how they became natural subjects of the Roman empire, v. 456. the best part of their religion but a rude tincture of Arianism, xii. 345. a most cowardly people, *ib.* why allowed to overrun Spain, *ib.*

Government, how various forms of, arose, xii. 311, 312. monarchical the most agreeable to nature, 312.

how every form of, is from God, 313.
Government, spiritual, (see *Power*.)
——— temporal, fame and infamy the highest reward and greatest punishment of every well ordered one, x. 353. of divine right, xii. 194.
Grace, one habit shewing itself in different virtues, iii. 83. difference between Roman and Protestant churches as to its use and measure, 317, &c. how it may increase without an increase of God's favour, 404. how supernatural grace is necessary for believing truths which may be known by nature, iv. 77, &c. sad effects of immature persuasions of our state in, ix. 374, &c. x. 440. 458. 548. xi. 193. does not exclude works, but only merits, ix. 438. more contention than real difference touching the question of falling from, x. 490. whether one may fall from saving grace, a question indeterminable in this life, 491. different senses of the word, 530.
Grace, (χάρισμα), cannot be merited by us, x. 531, &c. different degrees of, *ib.* increase of, no more merited than the first grace, 596.
Great things, reproof of seeking, xi. 135, &c.
Greek church, receives the communion standing, and why, vi. 491.
Greeks, their love of fable derived from true wonders in Jewry, i. 95, &c. derived their alphabet from the Hebrew, 117.
Gregory the Great, his influence with Theodebert and Theodoric to reform scandalous abuses in the church, i. 243. authority of, for the necessity of works to constitute justifying faith, iii. 166. advice of, to St. Austin, as to image worship in England, iv. 291. his expression of God's immensity, v. 52. denies foreknowledge as properly applicable to God, 96.
Gregory VII., pope, deposes Henry IV. of Germany, xii. 208. his prayer, 210.
Gregory Nazianzen, his panegyric for St. Cyprian and St. Basil, used by Bellarmine to justify the rhetorical expressions of the Roman liturgies, iv. 210. the Luther of ancient times, xii. 143.
Gregory of Nyssa, his commentary on the Lord's prayer, iv. 367.
——— of Tours, iv. 329. relates the poisoning of a queen through the cup of the Holy Communion, ii. 211.
Gretzer, exculpates the Sanhedrim in condemning our Lord, as being an error of *fact*, not one of faith, ii. 368.
Groves, why the seats of superstition, iv. 179. why commanded by God to be destroyed, *ib.*
Gualter, prolix in his comment on the Acts, ix. 421.
Gunpowder plot, detection of, ascribed to human wit, iv. 132. discovery of, an instance of special providence, v. 495. the use to be made of it, vi. 81. sermon upon, xii. 325. its issue a practical comment on St. Paul's words Rom. ch. xiii. 2. 332. remarkable documents of God's justice exhibited in, 333, 334. from what source it proceeded, 338.
Guttenbergh of Mentz, iv. 118.

Hagar, how a type of the testament given on Sinai xii. 71, &c.
Hagarens, a denomination for the Ishmaelites, i. 219. their territory, 220.
Hannah's faith confirmed by experiment, i. 304.
Happiness, the notions of, as entertained by heathens and Christians, fulfilled in the blessedness promised by Christ, vi. 324, &c. three sorts of goods necessary to, vii. 445. wherein the best heathens erred in their definitions of, ix. 98. x. 398. true happiness to have what we desire, and desire what we ought, ix. 100. x. 398. absolute happiness only in God, ix. 100. true happiness the heart's desire, x. 398. the first step to it is to be persuaded that it is not attainable in this life, 399. essential happiness consists in the fruition of God's presence, 405. the keeping of God's commandments the shortest way to it, xi. 4.
Hardening of heart, sometimes a privative, but more usually a po-

sitive work of God, ix. 452, &c. how God is the cause of it, 454. (See *Pharaoh.*)
Hardness of heart, duty to pray against, ix. 424.
Hate, may be of things not actually known, iv. 418.
Hearers, unfruitful, how like stony ground, iii. 415. what hearers are like thorny ground, 420, &c.
Heart, the temper of, which answers to thorny ground, iii. 420. honesty of, a disposition to faith, 447, &c. the only proper seat for sovereign faith, 465, &c. purity of, the first ground for preventing misconceits of God's nature, iv. 403, &c.
Heart's desire, is true happiness, x. 398. xi. 54. the wicked may have what he desires, and yet not have his heart's desire, *ib.*
Heathens, derived their mythology from real events recorded in Scripture, i. 69, &c., 97—118. drew many of their sentiments from divine sources, 118. why they counterfeited miracles and fell into polytheism, 120. reasons which withheld them from embracing Christianity, iii. 205. their difficulties in the way of believing in a God, iv. 27, &c. causes which led them to a multiplicity of gods, 115—139. origin of their transformations of the Deity, 346, &c. xi. 211. defect of their directions for attaining purity of heart, iv. 410, &c. their reasons in proof of a God verified by scripture, v. 223. how, even with perspicuous revelation, they were worse off than Israel, vii. 43. included in the covenant with Abraham, 360. just sentiments of, touching the inviolability of oaths, viii. 265, 267, 278, 297. how far their testimony is valuable in sacred matters, ix. 106. their best notions fruitless, 117. x. 160. practices and opinions of, witness to a future judgment, x. 141. &c. realities of truth to be extracted from their notions, though fruitless, 163. difference between their boldness and the confidence of Christians, 167. had implicit notions of a resurrection, 240, &c. will rise in judgment against Christians, 370. xi. 20. would probably have made a better use of revelation than we do, x. 371. how Christians and Jews in judging them condemn themselves, xi. 203.
Heaven, Turks' gross conceit of, x. 462. why Christians' hopes of, have so little influence on their affections, 465. how to obtain a relish of the joys of, 466.
Hebrews, Epistle to, the object of, viii. 256. internal evidence of its being written by St. Paul, 261.
ch. i. 6. refers both to Christ's nativity and final coming, vii. 390. an allusion to Psalm xcvii., x. 117.
ch. iv. 12, 13. explication of, vol. x. 216—229. xi. 393—407. what is meant by the *Word of God*, whether *Verbum Domini* or *Verbum Dominus*, x. 216. xi. 394. various translations and full importance of πρὸς ὃν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, x. 219. xi. 404, &c.
ch. v. 9. what is meant by *being made perfect*, viii. 199, 221. vv. 1—10 commented on and explained, 202—221. ver. 7 explained, 206, &c. ver. 10, the import of the word *called*, 221.
ch. vi., paraphrase upon, viii. 256, &c. vv. 17, 18 explained, 304, &c. ver. 10, *God is not unjust*, sense of, ix. 574. x. 535.
ch. vii. 1—11 expounded, viii. 223—255. ver. 19, best translation of, 254.
ch. viii. 1, 2 explained, ix. 511, &c.
ch. ix. 13, 14, explication of the argument, xii. 82.
ch. x. 1, 2, 16, 17, explained, ix. 587, &c.
ch. xii. 25—29, comment on, x. 205. ver. 26, *whose voice then shook*, the voice of Christ, *ib.*
Heifer, red, the sacrifice of, no part of the feast of the atonement, ix. 544. the ashes of, an emblem of immortality, *ib.* 601. the only legal sacrifice which prefigured the everlasting efficacy of Christ's, 599. offered only nine times during the time of the law, 600.

Helicon, a counterfeit of Beer, i. 97.
Hell, eternity of its punishment. (see *Death*.)
Hell-fire, whether material or no, a question of fruitless curiosity, x. 386, 446. although material, it may torment souls, 447.
Helvetian churches, derogated from the dignity of Christ's manhood, in proportion as the Lutherans exalted it, x. 25.
Hemingius, advice of, where to seek assurance of faith, ix. 537. works of, used by licensed readers in our church, 550.
Henry II. of France, his death an instance of retributive justice, v. 523.
——— III. of France, death of, considered by Romanists as an instance of God's special providence and justice, xii. 339.
——— IV. of France, slain by one who took his lesson from a Spanish Jesuit, xii. 338.
——— IV., emperor of Germany, deposed by Gregory VII., xii. 208.
——— VIII., liturgy set forth by, viii. 180. in what sense the title of Supreme head of the Church was given him, xii. 228.
Heraclius, his influence with other kings for the persecution of the Jews, i. 244.
Heresies, most frequent in the primitive church, ii. 16. no attempt to suppress them by the doctrine of infallibility then, 17. our church's means for discovering and suppressing them as effectual as the Romish, 80, &c. what kind of, separate us at once from the church, xii. 94, &c.
Heresy, not, as the Romish church teaches, the worst of sins, iii. 258. has a common root with atheism, iv. 19, &c.
Heretics, their habit of appealing to scripture noticed by Augustine, and used by Valentian as an argument against their sufficiency, ii. 7. the appeal to scripture no such presumption of heresy, as the reliance on tradition is of antichristianism, 10.
Herodotus, undeserved mistrust of his fables, i. 72. his account of the capture of Babylon in harmony with sacred prophecies, v. 423. testimony of, for divine forewarnings, vi. 117.
Hessils, Dr., ii. 85, successful efforts of, in exposing the *sensual doctrine* of assurance, ix. 552. his character as an expositor and a divine, x. 54. his interpretation of St. John ch. vi. 53, *ib.*
Hierocles, comment of, on the second golden verse of Pythagoras, viii. 278. origin of his opinion as to the endless succession of time, 324.
Higher powers, duty of praying for, ii. 151. duties of, 152. who they be, whether spiritual or temporal, regal or papal, xii. 189, &c. subjection to, due even in cases where obedience is sinful, 256. never at default but for the defaults of those subject to them, 285. how they are ordained of God, 309. what it is to resist them, 316, &c., 328. whether they may be resisted when they extend their jurisdiction to those by right exempt from them, 318. Pilate's and the high priest's power Satanical, yet not resisted, 319, 320. how far such as resist them receive to themselves damnation, 328, 329.
High priest, not always admitted into the Sanhedrim, ii. 331, 340. spoke *ex cathedra* when he condemned our Lord, 368. compassionate temper a special qualification of, viii. 202. the ceremonies of his consecration proved an imperfect priesthood, 357, &c. the seven days of his consecration a mystery, 360.
Hilarius, viii. 471.
Hippocrene, fable of, a copy of Moses' sacred well, i. 97, 98.
Holiness, the pleasure of, contrasted with that of sin, x. 369. bitter in its beginning, but sweet in the fruit, *ib.* our fruitlessness in, not to be imputed to the eternal decree nor to Adam's fall, but to our abuse of baptismal grace, 372. consists in the right temperature of the soul towards God after the pattern of Christ, xii. 25.
Holy, several significations of the word in scripture, xii. 24.

Homer, copied truth in feigning his heroes admonished by the gods, i. 56.
Homilies, their account of faith explained, iii. 157.
Honorius, pope, a heretic in the opinion of some Romanists, i. 448.
Honour, the highest reward in every well-ordered government, x. 353.
Hooker, quoted, iv. 127. viii. 64.
Hooper, bishop, v. 152, 161.
Hope, why called *an anchor sure and stedfast*, ix. 608.
Horror, a property of faith, iii. 54. its use in religion, 57.
Hosannah, the crying of, foretold by Zechariah, viii. 33. the word both precatory and congratulatory, 35, &c. came to be applied as a name of palm and olive branches, 36. the crying of, an acknowledgment of Jesus being the Messias, 37.
Hosea, ch. xi. 1, literally fulfilled in Christ, viii. 429.
Hosius, collier, his circle and catechism, ii. 15, 120.
Host, adoration of, impious, ii. 208. worms bred in, and Romish doctors' opinion of this, 210, note. Trent council's decree for adoration of, *ib.*
Hotman, viii. 161.
Huartes, iv. 65.
Hugo, cardinal, x. 86.
Humility, a necessary qualification for heaven, x. 560.
Hungary, God's judgments in that land, v. 557.
Huns, manner of their entrance into Europe, v. 439. raised up by God as a scourge, *ib.*
Huss, John, xii. 63.
Hymns, considered by heathens as due only to the Deity, iv. 265.
Hypocrisy, what it is, iii. 110. wherein moulded and whence it springs, 196. scrupulous timorousness in some points and confidence in others a sure token of it, 279. want of self-denial a principal cause of, 401. springs from the same root as idolatry and atheism, iv. 19. composition of pharisaical hypocrisy, vi. 76, 161. xi. 153, 273.
Hypocrites, their curiosity, ii. 437.
Hypocritical persuasions, rules to prevent them, iii. 195, &c.
Hypostatical union, vii. 281. (See the *Word.*)

Iconoclastæ, xii. 101.
Ideas, preexistent, how engraffed in the soul, iv. 87.
Identity of matter not necessary to unity numerical, x. 294, &c.
Identities, several sorts of, ix. 470. fallacies which arise from confounding them, 471.
Idolatry, the fault of early ages, i. 76. has a common root with atheism, iv. 19. the origin of, 115, &c. why men most easily slide into idolatry and sorcery, 310. transformations of the Divine nature into the similitude of our affections, the root of, xi. 204, &c. Christians may be as really guilty of it as heathens, 214, &c.
Ignorantia puræ negationis, and *pravæ dispositionis*, iv. 38. x. 441.
Illyricus, Flaccus, criticism on his definition of original sin, ix. 64, &c.
Image worship, by what means finally ratified in the church of Rome, iv. 289, &c. why sanctioned by Gregory in England, 291. disagreement among Romanists concerning the manner of, 295. Romanists' arguments for, considered, 303—323. argument for, from the use of the book in oaths, 306, &c. and from Jacob's anointing the stone, 309, &c. 314, &c. not the only form of idolatry, xi. 204. added as an article of faith at the second Nicene council, xii. 166.
Imaginations, the worshipping of, idolatry, xi. 204, &c.
Immensity, divine, the nature of, explained, v. 42, 59. place not commensurable with, 43. infinity in magnitude the shadow of it, *ib.* more justly represented by the negation of all things than by any positive essence, 45. incompatible with local motion, 50. well expressed by ancient philosophers, 51. pithily expressed by the fathers, *ib.* better expressed by saying God is *in* every place than *with* every place, 53. no charac-

ters so well befit it, as those which suggest more to our thoughts than we can express in words, *ib.* Trismegist's admirable expression of, explained, 54, &c. right apprehension of, necessary for the right conceit of other divine perfections, 56. absolute perfection of this attribute gathered from contrast with the imperfections of material magnitudes, 56, &c. well pictured out by Isaiah, and expressed in the Psalms, 58, 59.

Immutability, the divine, does not exclude liberty, v. 105.

Impeccability, whether it could exist in any creature from its creation, a question of schoolmen, ix. 11, 12. in men or angels, would make incapable of everlasting joy, 12.

Impenitence, final, for the least sin, most of all things offensive to God, ix. 183.

Impossibility, said by some to be a degree or part of *non esse* or *nothing*, v. 217. the same object of omnipotent power as *nothing* is, *ib.* absurdity which results from denying it to be an object of Omnipotence, *ib.* neither a positive entity nor a branch of *non esse*, 219. must be derived, not from *non esse*, but from contradiction, 220.

Incarnation, foretold in the writings of Moses, vii. 174. prophesied by Isaiah, 256, &c. and in the Psalms, 262, &c. the manifestation of God's glory in our redemption the true cause of, x. 316. (See *Word.*)

Indifference, often mistaken for Christian tolerance, iii. 247.

Indifferent things, made necessary and good by obedience to lawful authority, i. 365. become unlawful at certain seasons, xi. 84.

Indigence, engenders atheism, iv. 24. as often the mother of cruelty and oppression as of pity, v. 124.

Induction, the only means of framing general rules, v. 231. the principle of its validity, *ib.* in what subjects a perfect one is easy, and in what difficult, 232, &c. why difficult in matters of natural philosophy and morals, 233. no proof from, of the atheist maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit*, 235.

Indulgences, the doctrine and practice of, caused a breach in the church, ii. 87.

Infallibility; he that takes upon himself or is taken to have absolute infallibility, is made a god, i. 418. not advanced in primitive times, nor known by the ancient fathers, ii. 18. differences among the ancients an argument against any one man's possessing it, 72. wherein it consists, 109. in matters past always accompanied with the power of foretelling things future, 296. such as the pope's not in the priests under the law, 314. nor in the Sanhedrim, 329, &c. more needed under the law than under the gospel, 357. not claimed by Moses, 372, &c. not in the church after Moses' death, 385, &c. not claimed by the prophets, 399. such as the pope claims not exercised by Christ, 421. difference between the Jewish and that of the pope, ix. 134.

Infallibility of the Roman church, resolves itself into confidence in the priests, i. 332. not an effectual instrument for converting unbelievers, ii. 31, 32. the claim of it a general and fundamental point of difference between the Roman and all other churches, 93. xi. 176. does not pretend to prevent contentions before they arise, but only to decide them afterwards, 83. the claim of, the greatest cause of contentions, 90. not *de facto* a means of settling controversies, 93. nor would it be so if all granted it, 96. inconveniences which result from, and decide against the doctrine, 104. the attempt to prove it from scripture involves a vicious circle, 111, &c. x. 99. uncertainty of it as a rule of faith, ii. 132, &c. ridiculous use of it, 142. dangerous to states, 577. xii. 109. 116. the worst of all heresies and blasphemies, ii. 577, &c. undermines and inverts the whole frame of faith, 585. x. 98. xii. 169. had its origin in ambition, and its end in slavery unto Satan, ix. 134. the main error of

the Roman church, xi. 176. two branches of, the expounding of scripture, and the attestation of tradition, *ib.* xii. 169. well reformed, xi. 177. no one who holds it can be a true catholic, xii. 180. the root of her mystery of iniquity, 282. all the false doctrines in the world not equal to the antichristianism of, 283,

Infanticide, not common in France till forbidden, ix. 48.

Inferior powers, bound to obey their superiors, even in cases the justice of which they doubt, xii. 290. the jurisdiction of, as much from God as that of the highest powers, 307. resistance to, resistance to the ordinance of God, *ib.*

Infidelity, two degrees of, that *contradictionis* and that *puræ negationis*, iv. 38. x. 441. xii. 95. 181. a consequent of preceding sin, vii. 411. 421. more common than misbelief, x. 441.

Infinity, true definition of, v. 31. diverse branches of, x. 25. either actual or potential, 32.

Innocent III., pope, restricted the rules for the canonization of saints, iv. 339. denies the blood of Christ to be received by concomitancy in the bread, x. 56. his claim to censure mortal sins, xii. 111.

Innocents, true martyrs, vi. 297.

Intention of priests in the administration of the sacraments, the Roman doctrine of, considered, xi. 185. causes doubt of salvation, *ib.* made by the council of Florence to be of the essence of the sacrament, 187. required by Aquinas to be only *habitual*, but by his successors to be virtual, *ib.* enables Roman priests to exact from their people, the same kind of sacrifice as heathens offered to their gods, 190.

Invocation of saints, in what sense the Romanists hold it, iv. 215, &c. either superstition or idolatry, xii. 120. added as an article of faith at the second Nicene council, 166. decree concerning it enlarged by council of Trent, 167.

Isaac, a type of Christ's death and resurrection, viii. 151. 370. 396. willing to be offered up, *ib.*

Isaiah, most of his prophecies concerning John the Baptist, and our Lord, emblematical, vi. 383. his cruel death, viii. 90.

Ch. ii. 4. inchoative and complete fulfilment of, x. 190. ver. 22, various readings of, vii. 130.

Ch. vii. 10—15. objections of Jews against the Christian interpretation of, stated, vii. 328, 329. and answered, 330, &c.

Ch. ix. 1. difficulties of, according to ordinary pointing, vi. 454. fulfilled in contrary senses, vii. 135.

Ch. xi. 6—9. how fulfilled by John the Baptist's baptism, vi. 415, 416. the same literally fulfilled by our Lord's sojourn in the wilderness, 422.

Ch. xix. 18. doubtful sense of, vii. 133.

Ch. xl. 1—8. prophetical of God's incarnation, vii. 256, &c. ver. 4. fulfilled in an emblematical sense, vi. 386. the same literally fulfilled, 424.

Ch. l. expounded, viii. 90, &c.

Ch. li. 1. *the rock whence ye are hewn* refers to our Lord's grave, ii. 467. viii. 399.

Ch. liii. 8. explained of the increase of Christ's church, viii. 400.

Ch. lv. 1—6. paralleled in gospel history, viii. 418. ver. 3. *the sure mercies of David*, what is meant by, 421.

Ishmaelites, the same as Saracens, Hagarens, and Nabathæans, i. 219. beginning and causes of their greatness, 228. why called by themselves Saracens, 231. (See *Saracens.*)

Israel, the name fulfilled in Christ alone, viii. 429.

Israelites, deliverance of, from Egypt a pattern of our deliverance from the Romish church, i. 296. their prosperity and calamity were both possible, v. 318. their portion in the Son of Jesse shewn, vi. 195, &c. 250. how better dealt with than other nations, vii. 43. their spoiling the Egyptians not unjust, ix. 393.

Jackson's, Dr., vindication of him-

self from Mr. Burton's charge of Arminianism, ix. 354, &c.
Jacob's anointing the stone no argument for image worship, iv. 309. 314, &c.
Jagello, king of Poland, expedient of, for winning the Lithuanians to Christianity, iv. 179. his battle with the knights of Prussia an instance of God's special providence in war, v. 463.
James, St., his doctrine of justification by works, reconciled with St. Paul's justification by faith, iii. 301. x. 573. meaning of his assertion *whosoever offends in one point is guilty of all*, iii. 271. x. 584. xi. 42.
James IV. the strange forewarning given him of his fate, vi. 124.
Jansenius, denies our Lord's words in John vi. to be understood of sacramental eating, ii. 85. his solution of the seeming contradiction between St. Matthew and St. John, as to John the Baptist's knowledge of Christ, vi. 403. opinion of, as to the date of our Lord's baptism, 432. his explanation of Matthew ch. xi. 16, vii. 147. character of, as an expositor and divine, x. 54. his interpretation of John ch. vi. 53, *ib.* his arguments for the merit of works examined, 592, &c.
January, the sixth day of, graced with three wonders, according to a tradition of the Romish church, the coming of the Magi, Christ's baptism, and his first miracle, vi. 264.
Janus, temple of, shut after the destruction of Jerusalem, i. 181. coincidence of our Lord's circumcision with the day consecrated to, vii. 362.
Jealousies, original of, in the people against their pastors, ii. 347, 348.
JEHOVAH, the most proper name of God, vii. 369. why identified by the Greeks and Latins, and by the Chaldee paraphrase, with ADONAI, *ib.* 371. ineffable, as written by the ancient Hebrews, 369. 371. common to all the Persons of the Trinity, as expressing the nature of the Godhead, x. 113. sometimes appropriated to Christ, *ib.*
Jeremiah, Lamentations of, as much a prophecy of the times of Titus, as of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, i. 189. his parable of the figs typical of modern Jews, 287. spurious writings ascribed to, viii. 113.
Ch. vii. 3, 4. fulfilled in Christ's visiting the temple, vii. 200.
Ch. xxiii. 5—8. interpreted, viii. 334. Jewish objections to this interpretation answered, 341, &c.
Ch. xxv. 38. various translations of, vii. 128.
Ch. xxvi. 19. first sermon upon, vi. 49. second sermon upon, 70. third sermon upon, 90.
Ch. xxxi. 22. explained of the extraordinary conception and birth of our Lord, vi. 195, &c. 234. vii. 163. ver. 34. exposition of, x. 188.
Ch. xlv. 2—5. first sermon upon, xi. 79. second sermon upon, 109. ver. 5. exegesis of, 128.
Jerome, St., his account of the name of Saracens, i. 231. authority of, slighted by Romanists, ii. 169. asserts anger to be unnatural to God, v. 198.
Jerusalem, strength of, before its siege, attested by Tacitus and Josephus, i. 183. the lesson taught to other nations by its destruction, 192. its destruction a type of the last day, 195, &c. how the signs of its destruction were fulfilled, vi. 175, &c. our Lord's lament over, commented on, xi. 361, &c.
Jesuitism, a mixture of Pharisaism and malignant atheism, ii. 33.
Jesuits, the character of, xii. 346.
JESUS, our Saviour, various derivations of the name, vii. 364, &c. why pronounced by modern Jews *Jesu*, 365. how distinguished as a name of our Saviour from *Christ* and *Lord*, 368. at what time he was baptized, 431. viii. 56. 163.
Jewish church, did not possess absolute infallibility at any time, ii. 360, &c. authority of, after Moses' death, no rule of faith, 385, &c. as represented in the priests, was the most corrupt judge of divine truth, 410, &c.

Jewish kings, authority of, not merely executive, ii. 333. infallibility of, as defensible as that of priests, 334. blessings of their office impaired by the sins of the people, 336. had no seat in the sanhedrim, 340.

——— nation, its identity preserved by identity of laws and unity of succession, not, as others, by identity of soil, i. 154.

Jewish rabbins, their received rule touching the import of God's oath, viii. 299.

——— year, the reckoning of, when and why changed, viii. 162. 354. the ecclesiastical year different from the civil, *ib.*

Jews, vanity of their character apparent in the apocryphal books, and in Josephus, i. 37. their whole history confirmatory of the truth of scripture, 126, &c. superiority of, to their conquerors in captivity, a sign that they were God's people, *ib.* general opinion of their being a favoured people prevalent, 142. their spread in all parts of the world testified by Strabo and Seneca, 143. their influence in Rome testified by Cicero, 144. favour shewn to, in captivity, to be ascribed to their laws, 152. how a greater nation than any other, 153. their reputed descent from the Magi accounted for, 162. their explanation of Christ's miracles applicable to those of Moses, 163. calamities of, a fulfilment of prophecy, and sign of God's especial favour, 163, &c. God's favour to them a kindness to all other people, 168. number of, which died during the siege, 185. particulars of their suffering, 189, &c. massacres committed by, in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus, 235. persecutions of, under Adrian, 236. sent captives to Spain, 241. state of, after Adrian's time, not to be learnt from Roman writers, and why, *ib.* condition of, in Spain under Sisebodus, and in France under Dagobert, 243. always suffered in the attempts of Christians to recover the Holy Land, 247. their first settlement in England, 250. why God will not have them utterly destroyed. *ib.* respite of, under William Rufus, 251. massacre of, at the coronation of Richard I, 257—261. their hard usage under John, Henry III. and Edward I, 261, 262, 263. banished out of England, 263. massacred in Germany for sacrificing a child and offering indignities to the host, 264, &c. their race continually afflicted with an issue of blood, *ib.* 283. their conspiracy to poison the fountains in France and Germany, 266. practice of, to crucify Christian children, 268, 284. sufferings of, in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, and in Portugal, 269, 270. massacred in Lisbon, 273. their compulsion to Romish image worship a fulfilment of scripture, 274. why loathed by all nations, 278. unchangeableness of their character, 279. their stubbornness a proof of their descent from Abraham, 283. present temper and condition of, an index of their former greatness, 286. their blindness a light to Gentiles, 291. their desolation the strongest sign for confirming Christian faith, 293. general conversion of, to be expected, 294, &c. infidelity of, no just exception against the scriptures being a perfect rule of faith, ii. 38, &c. their spurious affection to Moses and the prophets, iii. 230, &c. allowances to be made for them in comparing their rejection of Christ with our belief in him, 238, &c. how misled by fanciful interpretations of scripture, iv. 387, &c. signs which preceded their final overthrow, and their sufferings therein, vi. 143, &c. their three causes of offence in Christ, 473. their history since the crucifixion parallel to that after the death of Josiah, viii. 81. had a prenotion that their Messias was to be an everlasting priest, 213. their most terrible form of excommunication, ix. 347. parallel between their stubborn cruelty towards Christ and Pharaoh's hardness of heart, 417, &c. true cause of their rejection, 432. two spe-

cial sins of ancient ones, xi. 154. sins of ancient and later ones compared, 156. whether their calamities were for their personal offences against Christ, or for communicating with their fathers in the blood of the prophets, 289, &c. how Christ's death was a cause of their calamities, 294. 336.

Job, how the most exact type of Christ, vii. 444. his first trial a type of our Lord's three temptations, 456. his second trial a type of His agony, 457. 503.

Joel ii. 28—32, fulfilled in part at the destruction of Jerusalem, i. 203. x. 202. his prophecy compared with Dion's and Pliny's account of the eruption of Vesuvius, i. 212.

John the Baptist, more than a prophet from his vicinity to Christ, ii. 449. four interpretations of the reasons of his message to our Lord, vi. 311, &c. Christ's answer to his question satisfactory to ordinary hearers, 317. his special qualifications for understanding our Lord's answer, 345. the particular prophecies on which his faith was grounded, 374, &c. why he denied himself to be Elias, 377. how his baptism differed from Christ's a fruitless question, 380. his faith in Christ grounded not on private revelation, but on the written word of God, 381. most of the prophecies concerning him allegorical, 383. difficulties in the evangelists as to his knowledge of Christ before His baptism, stated and solved, 401—410. the signs of the time by which he came to know Christ, 408, &c. the universality of his baptism a fulfilment of Isaiah xi. 6—9, 415, 416. the circumstances of his baptism typified by the events of the deluge, 417. the time at which he commenced his ministry, 429. how his faith in Christ was confirmed by the time and place of His baptism, 431—438. the time of his conception, viii. 355.

John the Evangelist, the most likely of the apostles to have had a successor such as the pope, ii. 290. Roman hymn to, sacrilegious, iv. 257. why he does not record our Lord's prophecy of Jerusalem's destruction, vi. 184. his account of the hour of our Lord's crucifixion reconciled with St. Mark's, viii. 167, &c. his rigorous character, 204. cause of his slackness in believing our Lord's resurrection, 391. believed in the resurrection before St. Peter, 393.

Ch. i. 1—18. expounded, vii. 226—241. did not borrow his expressions of the Word's divinity from heathen philosophy, 241—244. his expression, *born of God*, explained in connection with St. Peter's *born of incorruptible seed*, 269.

Ch. vi. paraphrase upon, x. 43, &c. ver. 53. Romanist interpretation of, to justify communion in one kind, shewn to be false, 57, &c.

Ch. viii. 30—36. paraphrase on, ix. 33, &c. 79, &c. 138, &c.

Ch. xiii. 1. mystical sense of, viii. 430.

John, king of England, cruel to the Jews, i. 262. excommunicated by Innocent III., xii. 114.

Jonas, how and of what he was a sign to the Jews, viii. 473, &c. 489. his denunciations against Nineveh executed upon the Jews, 487. 502, &c.

Josedech, what the name signifies, viii. 338, 339.

Joseph, his imprisonment and advancement a type of our Lord's burial and resurrection, viii. 401. his brethren's conspiracy against him, xi. 217, &c.

Josephus, his account of the Romans' desecration of the temple, i. 137, &c. his testimony to the service of the Jews to the Romans, 143. his prophecy of Vespasian's elevation, 175. his account of the desolation of Jerusalem, 185. 189, &c. his opinion of the use of the Urim and Thummim, ii. 312. narrates the devotion of Alexander at Jerusalem, v. 398. took warning, from the signs of his time, to yield himself to the Romans, vi. 144. his misapplication of the prophe-

cies and general expectation of the coming of Christ, to Vespasian, 181. why he omits to mention the coming of the Magi and the murder of the innocents, 269. cause assigned by him, for Herod's design to murder the nobles of Judæa, 271.

Joshua, son of Josedech, a type of Jesus Christ as our High Priest, viii. 327, &c. what the change of his garments typified, 330. his building of the temple a type of the foundation of the catholic church, 328. 332. the first high priest so called, 339.

Josiah, a type of Christ, viii. 79. death a blessing to him, xi. 120, 353.

Joy, the fruit of peace, x. 480. joy in himself peculiar to man, 482. self-joy impossible without being reconciled to God, *ib.* true joy always presupposes a knowledge of God, 484. distinguished from gladness, 485. results on the knowledge of any kind of truth, 486.

—— in the Holy Ghost, the nature of, exemplified from temporal joy, x. 480, &c.

Jubilee, what it prefigured, vi. 459. Christ began to preach in the 30th legal jubilee, 460.

Judah, the sceptre of, said by some Jews still to flourish in Media, ii. 231. three principal climacteric periods of, xi. 330, &c. brief history of the kings of, 342—356.

Judas Iscariot, intention of, in betraying our Lord, vii. 485. his treachery foretold in the Psalms, viii. 72. and prefigured by Ahithophel's treason, 73. difficulties concerning St. Matthew's narration of his throwing down the thirty pieces of silver, as a fulfilment of Jeremiah, 111, &c. his end prefigured by Ahithophel and foretold in the Psalms, 126. his reprobation not destined by God, ix. 320.

Jude, St., the scope of his Epistle, ix. 332. ver. 4. explained in a sermon, *ib.*

Judge, every one sustains a double person, vii. 394.

Judging of others, a foul fault even in the best men upon most notorious sinners, vi. 152. a prognostic of falling, xi. 17. four sermons upon, 140—217. how Christians condemn themselves by judging the Jew, 160. how our forefathers condemned themselves by judging the Romish church, 165, &c. how Christians and Jews condemn themselves in judging heathens, 203, &c.

Judgment, private, as obligatory and easy to us as to the Jews in distinguishing true prophets from false, ii. 55, &c.

Judgment, final, the exercise of, the principal part of Christ's royal power, x. 139. heathen notions concerning, of two sorts, either implicit or express, 141. witnessed to by heathen practices and opinions, 142, &c. Christian experiments of the certainty of, 156. proved from the workings of conscience, 157. heathen notions of, like dreams, 160. truth of, known before the flood, 169. foretold by Enoch, *ib.* proofs from the Old Testament that it is to be executed by God Himself, 172. comfort to be derived from the doctrine, 182. belief of, quells the censuring humour, 183. terrible spectacles and sounds that shall precede it, 201, &c. terrors of, typified by the terrors on Mount Sinai, 204. the process of, 209, &c. the books of conscience shall be opened at, 229. how the expectation of, should affect us, 232. why men are not affected by the terrors of, 236. three errors from which disbelief of it springs, 238.

Judgments, special, why not now to be expected, i. 294.

Judicature, ecclesiastic, whether there be any the same as the apostles had, xii. 55. whether there be one to which all should be subject, 58.

Judicis et juris sententia, ix. 339.

Judicium transit in rem judicatam, how this maxim applies to God's decree of reprobation, ix. 343.

Julian the Apostate, sorcery of, iv. 160.

Julius, bishop of Rome, his part in the Arian controversy compared

with that of St. Athanasius, xii. 139.
Julius II., pope, v. 454.
Junius, commentary of, on Matt. i. 22 and Isaiah vii. 10—15, vii. 326. 330. his interpretation of Matt. ch. xxvii. 9, viii. 114.
Jurisdiction, all, the ordinance of God, xii. 307. denied by anabaptists to be more from God than murder and plagues are, 308. the power of, in some, and duty of subjection in others, ordained by God *mediante lege naturæ*, 309.
Justice, notion of, never eradicated, v. 517. retributive, (see *Retaliation.*) different senses of the word, x. 535.
Justice, commutative, cannot exist between God and man, viii. 281. ix. 524. x. 599.
Justice of God, whether punitive justice be an effect of God's primary will, vi. 18. why not commutative but distributive, viii. 281. ix. 524.
Justification, difficulties of the protestant doctrine concerning, iii. 286. how by faith and how by works, *ib.* x. 546. 581. various senses of, iii. 296. most usual acceptation of, by St. Paul, 300. St. James' doctrine of, reconciled with St. Paul's, 301. x. 573. difference between Roman and our church concerning it, iii. 317. our meaning of being justified by faith alone, 321. threefold, fundamental, actual, and virtual, 357. in what its permanency consists, *ib.* consists not in one individual act, ix. 541. 555. two branches of, 560. effect of sin after, 561. how far it extends in this life, and how far it will be accomplished in the life to come, x. 325. in what sense the Roman doctrine of justification by inherent righteousness is true, 326. how far the effect of Christ's death, and how far of His resurrection, 321, &c. inconveniences which result from the Roman doctrine of, 538.
Justin Martyr, v. 223. 257. his representation of God's power in the work of creation, 281. his use of the word *fate*, 353. his interpretation of John the Baptist's message to our Lord, vi. 311. expresses Λόγος in St. John i. 1. by *Ratio*, xi. 403.
Keys, the commission for their power, to be limited by the rule which limits other universals of scripture, ii. 351. Christ's exercise of the power of, not to be fully manifested till doomsday, x. 214.
Kingdom of heaven, what is meant by its being within us, vii. 157. not established till after the Ascension, ix. 517. how prepared both for all men and for a certain number, x. 558. temper of little children a necessary qualification for, 560.
Kingdoms, many raised and destroyed under princes of the same name, viii. 325. this instanced in Judah and Israel, 326. why sometimes more plagued when less actually sinful, xi. 341. miscarry not always under the worst princes, 350.
Kings, infallibility of, as probable from scripture as that of the pope, ii. 334. counsel for, xi. 262. influence of clergy upon, for good or evil, *ib.* their supremacy over human laws makes them the objects of God's immediate judgments, *ib.* power of, more immediately from God than the papal. xii. 194, &c. disinherit themselves by becoming sons of the Romish church, 205. their ecclesiastical power above their temporal, 225. not excommunicable, 236. how they may be said to be inferior to the church, 239. that they may be deposed by the church representative, a doctrine peculiar to the Romanists, 241. how sons of the church, and yet heads of it, 250. lawful ones not to be resisted, although they should exercise their power tyrannically, 316.
King's supremacy, wherein it consists, xii. 226. in what sense the title of "Supreme Head over the Church" was given by our forefathers, 228, &c. Romanist arguments against, 248.
Kings of Judah, brief history of, xi. 342—356.

2 Kings xxiii. 26, 27. exposition of, xi. 337.
Kneeling at communion, the most decent posture, and most consonant to the analogy of faith, vi. 488.
Knowledge, to be perfect, must be commensurate with its end, iii. 125, 126. various degrees of, recognised by scripture, 162. impossible without preexistent notions in the mind, iv. 85. how far reminiscence, *ib.* whence the desire of, springs, 89. the natural desire of, identical with the desire of happiness, 416. how the result of love, *ib.* the beginning and growth of, like the growth of vegetables, 420. why the desire of, increases the more men know, x. 407.
Knowledge, moral, wherein its perfection consists, iii. 67. 68. includes a due regulation of the affections, 120.
Knowledge, religious, gained by practice beginning with trust, i. 320.
Knowledge of Christ, treatise upon, vii. 6—375. the several points of, 7. what it implies, viii. 387. twofold, speculative and experimental, 388. ix. 1. 2. difficulty of the experimental branch, ix. 2. knowledge of ourselves, the best method of attaining it, *ib.* 34.
Knowledge of ourselves, has a double aspect, one, to the state from which, and the other to the state to which we are fallen, ix. 2. necessary for knowing Christ, 3. 34.
Knox, mischievous preaching of, ix. 551.
Krantzius, speech attributed by, to Saracens at Torutum, i. 231. 232. note. relations of, concerning the Jews, 268, &c. his judgment of the Jewish character, 276. discouraging speech of, to Luther, as to his design, 299.
Kyrke or kurke, xii. 9, note.

Lactantius, censures Cicero's personification of philosophy, iv. 176. his manner in attributing anger to God excepted against, but justified, v. 197.
Laity, denial of the cup to them, (see *Cup.*) the pope's drift in allowing them to look into scripture, like the devil's in shewing our Lord the kingdoms of the world, ii. 49, note. exclusion of, from church government, a branch of the Roman church's treason, xii. 200.
Languages, modern, dialects of some affected by mixture of Roman and barbarous tongues, ii. 21.
Lanoue, entitled the father of modern wars, xi. 115.
Lateran, council of, its decree against temporal lords who did not purge their lands of heretics, xii. 208.
Latinisms in English, why they partake most of vulgar Latin, ii. 22.
Λατρεία and Δουλεία, how distinguished by Romanists, iv. 227. the former paid only to God, *ib.* the latter to saints, 228. δουλεία objected to by Peresius as becoming to saints, *ib.* not two distinct religious habits, 229, 230. the worship which Satan required of our Saviour was that of δουλεία, 234. both prohibited by our Lord's answer to Satan, to any besides God, 237. Cornelius offered the worship of δουλεία to St. Peter, but was prohibited, 243.
Law, the notion of subjection to some, natural to all men, v. 220. no argument of power, to be free from the restraints of, *ib.*
Law, every one consists of two parts, a precept and a sanction, xii. 268.
Law of Moses, the rites of, not abolished but changed by Christ, viii. 344. what the terrors attending the giving of it did prognosticate, x. 204. its mutability indicated by the shaking of the earth, 206.
Law, the, how he that offendeth in one point is guilty of all, iii. 271. x. 584. xi. 42. how far we can fulfil it, iii. 351, &c. how fulfilled by Christ, xi. 22.
Law and gospel, their opposition and subordination, xii. 79, &c.
Law of nations, accurately observed by Moses in his embassage to Pharaoh, and in his spoiling the Egyptians, ix. 393, 394.
Laws, human, every good one a silent magistrate, x. 223. inefficacy

of the best, 224. cannot bind the conscience, xii. 257. some to be obeyed for conscience sake, 258. mean between obeying some for conscience sake, and the inability of any to bind the conscience, *ib.* in disobeying some we disobey God's law, *ib.* whether, when we sin in disobeying them, there be two sins or one, 259. obedience or disobedience to, no sins except as they include disobedience to God's law, 260. those enjoining things indifferent to be obeyed, *ib.* (see *Obedience*). degrees of sin in disobeying them vary, according to the duties they enjoin, and the sanctions, 262, &c. passive obedience due to the penalty even of unjust ones, 269. may be two ways unjust, 270. disjunctive tenor of some, 273. obedience to, the nurse of spiritual virtues, 275. obedience to, beset with two extremes, that of the Romanist, and that of the nonconformist, *ib.*

Laymen, illiterate, can as well know the meaning of holy scriptures as of the pope's decrees, i. 331. how bound to believe the scriptures, 341.

League, several sorts of, viii. 282. various manners of confirming them among the ancients, 287. the most solemn ratified by blood, 288.

Learned, dissensions among them in religion do not relax the duty of private judgment, ii. 55, &c. how far we may differ from them without violating modesty, 70. their dissensions rather an argument against, than for, any infallible authority of men, 72.

Learning, providential causes for its revival shewn in the reformation, i. 296.

Legends, Romish, paralleled by heathen fictions, iv. 352, &c.

Lent, a season of peculiar holiness, x. 509. the obligation to observe it, 510.

Leo X. reputed infidel saying of, ii. 591.

Leontius thinks every thing in the world may be sincerely worshipped, and in it God, iv. 303. an opinion of, preferred by Maldonate before the fathers, ix. 140.

Levi, in what sense tithed in Abraham, viii. 247.

Liberality, spurious, often mistaken for Christian beneficence, iii. 246.

Liberius, pope, dialogue of, with the emperor Constantius, in defence of St. Athanasius, xii. 141. communicates with the Arians, *ib.*

Liberties, peculiar seasons abridge our lawful liberties, xi. 80, &c.

Liberty, defined amiss by heathens, ix. 98. (see *Freedom.*)

——— of doing evil, not always an imperfection, v. 334.

——— of prophesying, brought errors into the church, and disgraced and hindered the reformation, ix. 550.

Lie, the meaning of in sacred dialect, viii. 307.

Life, three degrees of, the vegetative, sensitive, and reasonable, x. 374. compared with life eternal, 396. uncertainty of its tenure, *ib.* at the best but a kind of death, *ib.* the desires of, not fully satisfied, 397. imperfection of its contentments owing to their conflicting nature, and the narrowness of our capacities, 400. of the natural esteem of, xi. 110. the esteem of, abated by the vehement pursuit of any thing, 111, &c.

Life everlasting, the article of, discussed, x. 330, &c. its excellency compared to this present life, as to its tenure, 396. excellency of, as to its contentments, 401. our senses and faculties will be fully satisfied in, *ib.* how the grosser senses will be purified, and the purer satisfied in it, 402. the joy of, essential and accidental, 405. the essential joy of, the fruition of God's presence, *ib.* wherein the accidental joys of consist, 415. the joy of, not absolutely equal, but proportionate to all, 418. the strongest motive to all duty, 428. the belief of, the only root of abstinence and patience, 435. the article of, more misbelieved than unbelieved, 439. coldness of our hope in, the cause of deviation from righteousness, 472. the most free gift of God, 550. the promise of, not terminated to any man's person, 554. (see *Election.*) the

gift of, does not exclude, but requires qualifications in the receiver, 556.
Lipsius, v. 306.
Litany, the obsecration petitions of, defended against the scoffs of objectors, vii. 514. nothing in it which does not spring from the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, *ib.* a body of orthodox divinity, *ib.*
Local presence, incapable of creation, x. 257.
Λόγος, the importance of, as the peculiar title of the Son of God, expressing by its various senses His different characters and offices, x. 220, &c. xi. 400—407. expressed by Justin Martyr by *Ratio,* xi. 403.
Lonicer, his explanation of the name *Turk,* i. 234.
LORD, the title of, peculiar to the *Son* before His incarnation, vii. 368, &c. 385. 517. appropriated to the Son by St. Paul and the Apostles' Creed, 373. x. 113. Christ not Lord from all eternity, x. 18. (see ADONAI.)
Lord's day, more properly so called than the Sabbath, viii. 349. (see *Sabbath.*)
Lorinus, iv. 7.
Louis X. revokes his father's edict against the Jews, i. 266.
Louis XI, the true cause of his strange consort with Charles the Bold to crush the earl of St. Paul, v. 482. God's retributive justice executed upon, 511.
Love and hate may be of things not known, iv. 418.
Love, God's, the nature and extent of, v. 141. doctrine of the church of England concerning its extent, 149. why the offers of, prove ineffectual, 163. towards such as perish, testified by our Saviour and St. Paul, 173. ignorance of, the cause why so many perish, 177. how reconcilable with inexorable justice, 183.
Love of God, how an effect of faith, iii. 148. proved by our love to man, x. 412.
—— of our neighbour, (see *Charity.*)
Loyola, Ignatius, his rule for discerning of spirits, i. 322.
Lucan, his description of the last day taken from our Lord's prophecy, i. 210.
Lucifer, (see *Satan.*)
Luke, St., ch. xiii. 1—6. explained of divine forewarnings, vol. vi. 110. ch. xiii. 6—9. parable of the unfruitful fig-tree explained, p. 136—151. ch. xxi. 25. sermon upon, p. 169. ch. xix. 30. variation of, from St. Matthew explained, vol. viii. 22, &c. harmony of, with St. Matthew concerning our Lord's trial, p. 97, &c. ch. xi. 51. expounded in connexion with 2 Chron. xxiv. 22, vol. xi. 276, &c.
Lust, meditations effectual for mortifying it, x. 450. Parisiensis' story of one cured of it by sight of a death's head, *ib.*
Luther, his purpose to reform discouraged as chimerical, i. 298. Romanists' objections to his bad life retorted on their popes, ii. 33, note. vindicated from the charge of destroying church unity, 88. assertion of, as to the right of private judgment, 174. did not take upon him to form a new church, xii. 130. the Nazianzen of later times, 143.
Lutherans, their controversy with other German and Helvetian churches as to the ubiquity of Christ's body, x. 23, &c. their arguments for the ubiquity of Christ's human nature, refuted, 28, &c.
Lyons, massacre at, ii. 578. xii. 339.
Lyra, vii. 146.
Lyserus, Polycarp, v. 481.

Macedonian empire, its sudden erection for the good of the Jews, and its sudden fall, owing to its being founded in perjury, v. 392. viii. 271.
Machiavel, calumniates Christianity, iii. 468. false in his animadversions on the causes of Rome's advancement, iv. 132. v. 434. *fortune* and *fate* used promiscuously by, v. 346. forced to ascribe the greatness of Rome to fate, 442. his doctrine concerning the immutability of fate, and the causes of diversity of fortune, reduced to divine Providence, 444, &c. his

aphorism concerning the immutability of fate, 446. testimony of, for divine forewarnings, vi. 118.
Mackbray, ix. 551.
Magi, how they came to discern in a star a token of our Lord's birth, vi. 260. where they probably came from, 261. 266. difficulties in determining the time of their coming to Jerusalem, 263.
Magic, remnants of belief in, still to be found, iv. 163, &c.
Magistracy, ecclesiastic, proper use of, ii. 101. (see *Power*.)
Magistracy, lawful, excluded from the scripture rebuke of those who judge others, xi. 142. important for obedience to distinguish between the *magistrate* and *magistracy*, xii. 307. 313. of whatsoever rank, is God's ordinance, 314.
Magistrates, every good one a living law, x. 223. how the rule, *Do as you would be done by*, applies to them, xi. 48. the acts of false ones valid, xii. 147. 318.
Mahomet, contrast of his means of success with those of Christianity, i. 22. his pretended descent from Sarah, 231. cause of his exaltation, v. 498. his representation of heaven, through means of experienced pleasures, x. 462.
Maiolus, vi. 183.
Malachi, ch. iii. 2. 3, inchoative and complete fulfilment of, x. 191.
v. 6, &c., paraphrase upon, xi. 59.
Maldonate, censures Jansenius and Hesselius, ii. 85. his interpretation of Matt. ch. xxiii. 3, 345. note. his four modes of the fulfilment of prophecy, 364. note. his censure of some of the early Fathers, vi. 311. his interpretation of πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται, 337. an ingenious, but unsatisfactory interpreter of prophecy, 405. vii. 94. viii. 472. his four rules for the fulfilling of scriptures, examined, vii. 77. his explanation of the expression *that the scripture might be fulfilled*, 94, &c. his rule for the right interpretation of parables, 146. note. his explanation of the title *Son of Man*, 427. his solution of the difficulty in Matt. xxvii. 9, vol. viii. 116. his mode of reconciling St. John with St. Mark, as to the hour of our Lord's crucifixion, 169. his explanation of Hebrews ch. v. 7, p. 206. his interpretation of Gen. xiv. 18, p. 240. reasons stated by, for Christ's instancing the blood of Zachariah, not good, xi. 284. his opinion as to the cause of the Jews' calamities, 290.
Malum pœnæ, what constitutes it, x. 380.
Man, his state of government under grace, iii. 353, &c. his continuance or non-continuance in goodness, why contingent, v. 298. variety of opinions concerning his first estate, ix. 4. his original righteousness not a supernatural grace, 6. whether, had he not fallen, perseverance would have been a *merit*, impertinently moved by schoolmen, and inconsiderately denied by modern disputants, 14. had he improved his first estate, reward would have been bestowed on him by way of merit *de congruo*, 14, 15. his fall not necessary, 16. 21. 31. his distinctive difference from mere sensitive creatures, 171. his will, before the fall, as truly free as that of angels, 182. his freedom not equal to that of angels, nor his servitude to sin equal to that of devils, 183. unregenerate man sins not in every action against men, 184. has a true freedom in doing evil, *ib.* his first duty at his first use of reason, 200. 260. some relics of God's image in the natural man, 248. four estates of, 313.
Manes, his heresy of two Creators, i. 308.
Manichees, heresy of, whence it sprung, iv. 125. how far their error, as to the necessity of evil, was redeemed by holding a distinct Creator of evil, v. 301. their heresy opposed by the early Fathers, ix. 161. held body and soul to be created by different Gods, x. 362.
Manna, an emblem to the Israelites of spiritual food, ii. 380.
Marcus Arethusus, bishop, St. Gregory Nazianzen's story of his resistance to Julian, x. 150.

Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit, in his comment on Gen. xiv. avouches the unbloody sacrifice of the mass to have been prefigured by Melchisedec's offering to Abraham, viii. 243. gives instructions in what cases kings may be killed, xii. 338.
Mark, St., ch. xi. 2, variation of, from St. Matthew, explained, viii. 22, &c.
ch. xv. 25, discrepancy of, with St. John, reconciled, 167, &c.
Marriage, shewn to be honourable, from the circumstances of our blessed Lord's conception, vi. 247.
Marriage at Cana in Galilee, miracle wrought at, a type of God's method in rewarding righteousness, as contrasted with Satan's practice in rewarding sin, x. 368.
Martinusius, cardinal, his tragical end, and God's judgments on his murderers, v. 553.
Martyrdom, vainglory of, in St. Cyprian's time, iii. 252. what constitutes real, 253. x. 427. as much matter for it now as ever, iii. 259. the cause of its infrequency, *ib.*
Martyrs, evidences of the corrupt minds of some of the Romish, iii. 256.
Mary, St., the Virgin, question about her sinfulness, iv. 213, &c. hymn to, 255. difference of her worship from that of ordinary saints, in the Romish church, 298. the manner of her annunciation vindicated against profane objections, vi. 213. her divine conception prophesied by Jeremiah, and typified by other miraculous conceptions, 195—215. 234. vii. 163. 313. how in the manner of her conception she remedied the sin conceived by Eve, vi. 237. vii. 316. the term *mulier*, or γυνή, more appropriate to her than *Virgo*, or παρθένος, vi. 244. her question to the angel falsely supposed to imply a vow of celibacy, vii. 313. tradition as to her freedom from original sin, 425. exempt from the law of purification, viii. 505. observed the law of purification only as a pattern of obedience, *ib.* no mixture of sin, either original or acquired, in her answer to the angel's annunciation, ix. 75. to doubt her perpetual virginity a dangerous error, xii. 97.
Masius, commentary of, on Joshua ch. vii. 7, vol. vii. 373.
Mass, the cause of its being held to be a repeated sacrifice, iii. 370. derivation of the word by Romanists, iv. 388. repetition of, concluded against from an argument used to support it, viii. 242. the doctrine of, derogatory to Christ's sacrifice and priesthood, ix. 528. 582. 592.
Mass priests, Melchisedec made a type of, by Romanists, viii. 242.
Masson, Papirius, his account of the state of the Jews in France, i. 243, &c. 257, &c.
Mathematics, the most courteous study, as never crossing any man's humours, iii. 74. why the rules of, are so evident, iv. 109.
Matter, the arguments for its preexistence for the work of creation, refuted, v. 225, &c. must have had a beginning, 247. identity of, not necessary to numerical unity, x. 294, &c.
Matthew, St., ii. 1, 2, sermon upon, vi. 258. seeming difference of v. 6. with the prophet Micah removed, vii. 323. vv. 17, 18, commented on in a sermon, vi. 277.
ch. vii. 12, first sermon upon, xi. 3. second sermon upon, 39. third sermon upon, 64.
ch. xii. 27, *By whom do your children cast them out*, to whom this applies, ii. 440. ver. 32, interpretation of, xi. 316. vv. 38—40, difficulties of, stated and explained, viii. 471, &c.
ch. xxi. 2. 7, variation of, from the parallel passages of St. Mark and St. Luke, explained, viii. 22—27.
ch. xxiii. 34—36, expounded, vii. 168. xi. 268, 272—337. v. 37, sermon upon, xi. 361, &c. gloss upon, refuted, 370.
ch. xxiv. 15—36, fulfilled in part in the destruction of Jerusalem, vol. i. 195, &c. x. 202. ver. 28, expounded, vol. vii. 170.
ch. xxv. 34, 35, 41, 42, expounded, vol. x. 569, &c.

Matthew, ch. xxvi. 60, &c., harmony of, with St. Luke, concerning Christ's arraignment, vol. viii. 97, &c. v. 64, meaning of the adversative particle *nevertheless*, vol. x. 179.
ch. xxvii. 9, various explanations of the difficulties of, viii. 111, &c.
Maximin, imputed his quiet reign to his worship of false gods, and zealous impugning of Christians, iv. 143.
Mean, between two extremes, is either of negation or participation, v. 23. xii. 301.
Melancthon, attempt of, to determine the authors of the Psalms, vii. 92. his definition of original sin, ix. 70. works of, formerly used by licensed readers in our church, 550.
Melchisedec, how a type of Christ's eternity, vii. 225. supposed by some to be the second or third person in the Trinity, viii. 223. not the Holy Ghost, *ib.* not the Son of God, 224. erroneous interpretation of his being *without father, without mother*, 226. wherein his similitude to Christ consists, 230. 246. the omission of his genealogy imports a mystery, 232. tradition of the Jews that he was Shem, 233. what manner of blessing he bestowed on Abraham, 234. could not be a Canaanite, 235. must have been a member of the visible church, 235. the form of his blessing argues him to have been Shem, *ib.* the mystical import of his entertainment with bread and wine, 237. offered no sacrifice of bread and wine, 239, &c. wherein his priesthood differed from Aaron's, 245. the only one before Christ who was both king and priest, 248. his right of office to receive tithes from Abraham, *ib.* a type of Christ in his authority to bless, 250, 251. ix. 605. his right to bestow Canaan a type of Christ's right to bestow heaven, viii. 252.
Mercer, i. 107. iv. 7. vi. 359.
Mercy of God which endureth for ever, meant of God's mercy in Christ, vii. 264.
Mercies, dangerous to dally with God's, x. 71.
Merit, arguments of Romanists' from the use of the word, x. 513, &c. used by the Latin fathers for *obtaining*, *ib.* Roman doctrine of, derogates from Christ's merits, 537. the question concerning, comes to the same issue with the question of justification, 538. Roman definition of, 593. dispute with Jansenius about, 594. the promises of God no ground of, 598.
Merits, Roman doctrine as to the revival of, x. 534.
Messias, prenotion among the Jews that He should be manifested at some feast, viii. 53. and that He should be an eternal priest, 213.
Millain, council of, Arianized, xii. 63.
Ministers, danger of disobeying even unworthy ones, i. 405. (see *Pastors.*) lawful ones, used by God as ordinary means of ratifying even His extraordinary blessings, viii. 235.
Ministry of men necessary for planting faith, agreed by Romanists and protestants, i. 345. ii. 503. English church in the mean on this point, between papists and antipapists, i. 348, &c. how far necessary for planting faith, and retaining the unity of it when planted, ii. 1—154.
Minucius Felix, his opinion of fate, v. 353.
Miracles, those related in scripture proved true, by St. Augustin's dilemma, i. 21. of ancient times, not to be suspected because none such now, 75. God's instruments of training an infant church, 82. uncertain when they ceased, *ib.* accounts of, in early English and French history, not to be rashly rejected, 83. what purpose they served after the law was given, ii. 395. expectation of pompous vainglorious ones, the original of Jewish infidelity, 433. internal ones the only end of external, *ib.* no sure rule in themselves of trying prophets before the law, 437. why most necessary in the early state of the church, and why they

should not be continued, v. 488. vi. 40. not more admirable than the works of ordinary providence, v. 488. vi. 38. partake less of God's power than ordinary works of nature do, vi. 11. x. 266. no part of our creed to think they have ceased, vi. 37. all a manifestation of God's creative or cooperative power, 38. often an effect of the withdrawal of God's cooperative power, shewn in the instances of the sun standing still, the three children in the flames, and the withering of Jeroboam's hand, 11. 39. x. 267, 268. apt to affect the senses, while ordinary works affect the understanding, vi. 40. no certain note of the church, 369. an inducement to, but no true ground of, faith, viii. 390. not opposite to works of nature, x. 265.

Miracles, Christ's, required to be tested by their consonancy to those of Moses, ii. 426. and to prophetical testimonies, 428. in what sense they bore witness of Him, 431. differ, in manner and end, from the miracles of devils and impostors, 439. not so much relied upon by His disciples as His predictions, 453. connexion of, with His words, 456. His prophetical spirit gave life to them, as His soul to His body, 457. how they prove believers in Him blessed, vi. 334, &c.

Mirandula, iv. 157. v. 24.

Mirth, a general humour for, in times of public calamity, a prognostic of desolation, xi. 103, &c. a reproof of unseasonable mirth, 105, &c.

Misbelief, distinguished from unbelief, x. 439. of future rewards and punishments, the cause of sin, *ib.*

Misna, Marquis of, punishes the Jews for intending to crucify a Christian child, i. 268.

Mistrust, how far prudent, i. 52. in worldly matters, often leads to infidelity in spiritual, 53.

Mollerus, opinion of, as to the author of the cxviiith Psalm, viii. 40.

Monarch of the world, general expectation of, throughout the east, i. 176. how this expectation affected the Jews during their siege, 186.

Monasteries, advantage of, iv. 188.

Monothelites, their heresy, vii. 437.

More, sir Thomas, jest of, upon unworthy ministers, i. 405. his treatise on Invocation of Saints, iv. 324. notice of his death, v. 536. his lament of the errors of his time, ix. 551.

Mortification, a treatise upon, ix. 193—265. constant progress in, a firm sign of salvation, 194. a universal duty of man, 199. the first duty of man when he comes to the use of reason, 200. a perpetual work, 206. progress in, the best rule for knowing our state in grace, 207. 329. we must measure it, and doing deeds of the flesh, by the same scale, 208. certainty of, and of our state in grace, equal, 209. not a term indivisible, but admitting of many degrees, 211. a true part of conversion, 212. moral and spiritual, *ib.* how far done by us, and how far the work of the Spirit, *ib.* man merely passive in the first degrees of, 213. Romanists' objections that we make men mere stocks in mortification answered, 214, &c. in what way men may be said to be active in, 217, &c. man's endeavours necessary in, *necessitate præcepti*, and *necessitate medii*, 219. man may work it out as he does his salvation, *non formaliter sed consecutivè*, 223. 232. is *ex prævisis operibus*, not as from a cause, but *tanquam ex termino*, 225. wrought both by the divine and our human spirit, 231—247. two kinds of, 239. wherein the accomplishment of, consists, 248, &c. necessity of, to all, though not of all mortification, 297. there is a degree of, betokening confirmation in grace, 301. 310. every degree of, an approach to the ratification of the promise of life, 309. true doctrine of, an antidote against sloth, presumption, and despair, 325, &c. how to be applied effectually to the several members of the body of sin, x. 455.

Moses, had no such authority as is now ascribed to the pope, ii. 372, &c. authority of, how obtained and supported, 378, &c. how his miracles were to be tested, 437. a mean between Christ and other prophets, 445. a type of Christ in the office of Mediation, 457. his words, *Send, I pray Thee, whom Thou wilt send*, interpreted to refer to Christ, 462. vi. 309. said by Josephus to have been intended as heir to the kingdom of Egypt, ix. 388. martial acts of, recorded by the same author, *ib.* probable that he performed some eminent exploits, which marked him out to his brethren as their deliverer, *ib.* as God's ambassador, managed a solemn formal treaty with Pharaoh, 393. spoiled the Egyptians by the law of reprisal, *ib.* his miracles letters of credence, 394. encouraged by God, 399. two remarkable points in his history similar to Christ's, 421.

Moses' writings, contain more signs of authenticity than any other history, i. 26. a perfect and plain rule to the Israelites, 485. the ultimate test of the truth of all other prophecies, ii. 423, &c.

Motion, local, incompatible with the nature of God, v. 50.

Mouth of Blasphemies, a survey of, with an application to the papacy, ii. 471.

Murmuring, quelled by a belief of God's equity, ix. 463, &c.

Muscovites, forbid preaching to prevent schisms, ii. 141.

Musonius, excellent motive inculcated by, for the practice of virtue, x. 370.

Mysteries, sacred, often involved in enigmatical propriety of prophetical words, i. 212. danger of prying into, vi. 157. intimated sometimes in the form of one letter, vii. 72. viii. 125, 126. foreshadowed by change of names, vii. 74. mysteries, and not metaphors, contained in Hebrews, chapters vi. viii. ix. x., vol. ix. 512.

Naaman, his faith begot by one experiment, without the word, i. 302. his doubting like the curiosity of unbelieving artists, *ib.* his petition for pardon for worshipping in the house of Rimmon referred to his *past* worship, viii. 497. had some degree of free will, and used it well, ix. 261.

Nabathæans, same as Ishmaelites, i. 219. their territory, *ib.*

Naclantus (bishop), his exposition of the nature of image-worship, iv. 299. supports Osiander's derivation of the name JESUS, vii. 364.

Name of four letters, (see *Jehovah.*)

Names, different import of, in scripture, viii. 338.

Nations, ages of, analogous to those of men, and old age in both incredulous, i. 81. predominant vices of, chastised by the inundations of those which have the contrary virtues, xii. 345.

Natural capacities, not used, make us inexcusable, ix. 445.

Naturalists, objections of, against a creation, on the maxim *ex nihilo nihil fit*, answered, v. 225, &c. 231, &c. traces of truth in heathen ones, ix. 37. hunt after truth, upon an unfoiled scent, 38. their way of investigating truth contrasted with that of schoolmen, *ib.* objections of, against a resurrection of the body, conclusively answered by St. Paul, x. 261, &c.

Nature, how far it may be prejudiced by custom, iv. 15. a law limited to this visible world, and necessarily supposing a lawgiver, v. 15. 242. x. 266. office of, as an efficient cause, v. 264. works of, not opposite to miraculous works, x. 265. God's cooperative power in the works of, 267, &c. reverence for, among heathens, shewn in their maxim, *Nature works nothing in vain*, 311. this maxim improved, *ib.* the efficacy of, for moral as well as bodily improvement, xi. 7. rudiments of, her laws written in the minds of all men, 241.

Nazarene, what the name implies, vi. 219. whether a different word from Nazarite, 221. xii. 72.

Nazareth, derivation of the name, and what it imports, vi. 219. 412.

Necessity, not inconsistent with contingency in the divine decrees, v. 88—95. 292, &c. 295, &c. 358, &c. (see *Decree*). how subject to Divine providence, 264, &c. of human acts, disproved by the punishment of malefactors, 306. the degrees of, 365, &c. original of absolute necessity, *ib.* events in their nature contingent may in time become necessary, 369. an ill necessity freely contracted, ix. 103, 104. how far it enters into human affairs according to scripture, 160. necessity of doing good makes incapable of reward, xi. 380. (see *Contingency, Decree, Fate, Free-will*).

Negative commandments, why they provoke sin more than affirmative ones, ix. 53.

Newcastle, dissemination of false doctrines at, ix. 371. mischievous preaching of Knox, Mackbray, and Udal there, 551.

Nicene Council, the second, an instance of the manner in which the visible church encroached upon the attributes of the church catholic, xii. 101.

Nicene Creed, framed against the Arians, vii. 220. what it teaches concerning the generation of the Son, 223.

Ninevites, their sudden repentance at Jonas' preaching explained, viii. 487. in what way they condemned the Jews, 488. the judgments denounced against, executed upon Jerusalem, 488, &c.

Noah's Ark, the allegory of, drawn out, xii. 84. of what church it was a type, 86.

Nobility of blood, does not necessarily expire through the viciousness of one succession, ix. 63.

Nonconformists, the opposite extreme to Romanists, in the matter of obedience to church authority, xi. 179. xii. 275. their pert demand for scripture warrant for rites and ceremonies, exposed, xii. 286, &c. their nonconformity with their acknowledged church, makes them nonconformists to those whose practices even they adopt, 296. how far right as to conditional obedience, 303.

Nonnus, viii. 167.

Norice, sir John, xi. 115.

Nothing, no such thing as absolute *non esse*, in respect of omnipotence, v. 219. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, the ground of the naturalist's and atheist's objections against God's creative power, 224. doubtful sense of this maxim, 225. a term precedent, not a thing prexistent, to creation, 227. what is meant by all things being made *of nothing*, 229. the atheistic naturalist's maxim cannot be established by any induction, 235. to make something out of nothing, not formally equipollent to the attribute of omnipotence, 258, &c.

Notions, ideal, how they are in the soul, iv. 86.

Novatian, from what practice his heresy took its rise, ix. 563. his quarrel with Cornelius, bishop of Rome, 564. a different person from Novatus, 585. (note.)

Novatus (presbyter of Carthage), character of, ix. 585. (note.)

Novelists, (see *Nonconformists.*)

Oaths, manner of, appealed to by Romanists as a justification of image worship, iv. 305. true character of, explained, 307. use of the book in them explained, 308. signs, even among heathen, of an innate notion of a Deity, viii. 261. outward form of, in ancient times, 263. derivation of the word *oath*, 264. in what cases, in ancient times, they put an end to strife, *ib.* promissory ones to confirm leagues, assertory ones to end strifes, 267. how far promissory oaths, though contrary to former ones, should stand, *ib.* instances of punishment both on nations and individuals for violation of, 271, &c. not to be given or taken but on weighty occasions, 275, &c. disregard for in Jackson's time, 276. why more binding than ordinary promises, 279. what the oaths of their gods did import more than a promise in the opinion of heathens, 297. why men, faithful to their word, are careless in matters to which

they are bound by oath, ix. 52. lawfulness of, denied by Anabaptists, xii. 335. three properties of a lawful one, that it must be taken in truth, justice, and judgment, *ib.*

Oath, God's, imports more than His word in making His promises and His threats irreversible, vii. 71. viii. 299, &c. 322. ix. 302.

Oath of allegiance, intention of, xii. 335. objected to by Romanists, as wanting the properties of a lawful oath, *ib.*

Obedience, object matter of, threefold, i. 355. chief points of difficulty concerning the matters of, 358, 359. often makes actions good which in themselves are evil, 359, &c. not a consequent merely of action, but a motive of it, 363. difficulty of laying down general rules for, 366. 394. a certain rule for the cases in which it may be safely withheld, 367. the nature, use, and properties of conditional obedience, 399, &c. not merely a civil but a religious act, 403. (see *Laws human.*) the manner of it how to be limited, 403. due even to unworthy ministers of God's word, 405. neglect of the duty of, 408. conditional obedience a mean between absolute belief in some points, and implicit belief in all, 413, &c. may be complete though not absolute, ii. 310, &c. conditions of, either precedent or subsequent, 321. self-denial the foundation of all, 323. absolute obedience to men inconsistent with loyalty to Christ, 327. danger of partial obedience, 243, &c. x. 584. mean between the absolute obedience of the Romanist, and the obedience of those who demand a scripture warrant for all injunctions, xi. 178. xii. 300. enjoined by God in things not enjoined in His word, xi. 180. xii. 288. that of the church of Rome absolute two ways, xii. 276. to withhold it not the same as to resist, or to disobey, 326.

Obedience, Christian, bounds of, ii. 102, note. manifold engagements of Christians to, x. 130, &c. a treatise upon, xii. 189—347. the bounds of, most necessary to be known, 189. connexion of, with faith, *ib.* two main branches of contention about, 190. to fulfil it we must know who is the supreme power, king or pope. *ib.* distinguished from subjection, 253. gross error of those who limit it to things only for which a scripture warrant can be shewn, 261. 286. passive obedience due to the penalties even of unjust laws, 269. beset with two extremes, one the absolute obedience of Romanists, 275, &c. the other that of the nonconformist, 286. how that which the church of England requires, differs from the Romanists' and the nonconformists', 303.

Obliquity of act, can have no other cause but the cause of the act, ix. 20. usual distinction of act and obliquity of act, has no place in the first sin of man, 25.

Ockain, iii. 189.

Œcolampadius, observes on the mischiefs of teaching the nature of God through pictorial representations, ix. 77. 379. x. 133.

Œcumenius, observation of, on Rom. ch. xiii. 1, vol. xii. 313.

Οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων, mistranslation and abuse of these words by the council of Trent, ii. 218.

Oleaster, observation of, on the solemnity of Aaron's consecration, viii. 380.

Olympic games, acquaintance with the customs of, necessary for understanding scriptures, vii. 146. made use of especially by St. Paul for illustration, 148.

Omnipotency, the attribute of, explained, v. 210—264. not peculiar to the Father, but proper to the Godhead, 210. how nothing is impossible to, 212. how absolute possibility is the object of, 213. the foundation of all possibility, 216. has no positive entity to which it is terminated, as the faculty of sight to colours, *ib.* may have an object purely negative, or including a negation of all positive entities, 217. may make all things out of nothing, without any positive preexistent entity, *ib.* has for its object all things which imply

no contradiction in nature, 218. 260. ix. 487. x. 247. 249. 254. truth and unity as much included in the notion of, as being itself is, v. 219. 220. inability to disenable itself, a special prerogative of, 220. cannot be delegated to any other, 221. 258. manifested in this visible world, 222. to make something out of nothing, not formally equipollent to the attribute of, 258, &c. whatever possible to, always alike possible, ix. 488. sustentative and cooperative power of, x. 266. its sustentative power only a prorogation of its creative power, 270.

Omnipresence of God, what is meant by, v. 47. manner of, distinguished by schoolmen, *ib.* implies an *essential* presence every where, 48. three modes of, set forth by scripture, 48, 49. the only two reasons for denying it to be essential, examined, 49, &c. to hold the freedom of God's will, and yet deny the omnipresence of His essence, is to make Him capable of local motion, and so to deny His infinity, 50. (see *Immensity.*)

Onkelos, his rendering of Genesis, ch. iii. 8, vii. 244. and of Gen. ch. xxii. 16—18, 246.

Ophir, situation of, vi. 268.

Opinabilia, one branch of the objects of natural belief, i. 8.

Opinions, diversity of, among the learned as to the interpretation of scripture, no excuse for heresies, ii. 57.

Opus operatum, those who hold it, bound to shew that creative power may be delegated, v. 258.

Opus quo renunciamus, must be included in the suit of mercy, ix. 443. importance of distinguishing between it and other works, *ib.*

Oracles of God, admit of ambiguous senses, vii. 121, &c. x. 187. how they differ from heathen oracles, vii. 131. their variety of senses a proof of their inspiration, 132.

Oracles, heathen, undoubted veracity of some, i. 60. cause of their cessation according to Plutarch, 61. the real cause of their decay, *ib.* those of Dodona and Delphi counterfeits only of Shiloh and Jerusalem, 64. difference of, from divine prophecies as to their ambiguous sense, vii. 122, 131.

Original sin, could not have been infidelity, vii. 412, 421. not a habit properly, 418. began with pride, 421. more than a mere privation, ix. 11. could have no other cause than that which caused the act of Eve, 20, 25, &c. wherein its heinousness consisted, 32. a hereditary disease, 35, 58. pollutes our nature, while actual sin pollutes our persons, 36. notions of, possessed by heathens, 37. manifested in the lust to do forbidden things, 47, &c. testified to by St. Paul, 49. why more provoked by the negative than by affirmative commands, 53. definition of, 55. all hereditary sin not original, 62. modified by education, 63. how defined by Aquinas, Melancthon, and Illyricus Flaccus, 70. not entirely removed by baptism, 201. how remitted by baptism, 593.

Osiander, his derivation of the name Jesus, vii. 364.

Osorius, his description of Jews' sufferings in Portugal, i. 273, &c.

Ovid, his elegy to Augustus compared with the xlist Psalm, i. 40.

Pacuvius Calavius, his plot at Capua, ix. 147.

Pain, a more powerful feeling than pleasure, x. 452.

Paleotus, cardinal, on the authority of the pope, xii. 60.

Palm branches, why an emblem of righteousness, viii. 34. called hosanna, 36. the bearing of, emblematical of Christ's victory over death, 59.

Pan, the story of his death a counterfeit of Christ's sacrifice, i. 62.

Pansa, iv. 404.

Parables of our Lord most sovereign for plantation and growth of faith, iii. 415.

Paracelsus, suspected by Erastus of Arianism, iv. 170.

Paradise, expulsion from, might in itself have caused a degree of mortality and corruption, ix. 60, 61.

Paræus, his controversy with Becanus, ix. 22. xi. 208. prefers Bellarmine's opinion to Calvin's, on

the matter of original sin and reprobation, *ib.* his interpretation of Hebrews ch. iv. 12, vol. xi. 395.
Pardon, freeness of, excludes not all qualifications, but rather requires sincere performance of good duties, x. 522.
Parents, instruction of, needful to beget faith in children, ii. 385.
Parents, our first, not such shameless sinners as their posterity, x. 358.
Parisiensis, his story of a man who cured himself of lust, x. 450.
Parmenides, his apophthegm *omnia unum sunt* an orthodox principle of divinity, v. 29.
Parricide, when it became frequent among the Romans, ix. 47. not rife till forbidden by law, *ib.* not forbidden by Solon, and why, 48.
Partiality, in keeping God's commandments argues an unsound faith, iii. 244, &c. x. 584. difference between inequality and partiality to God's law, x. 585.
Paschal lamb, was severed from the flock four days before the passover, viii. 3, 480. how the type of it was fulfilled in our Lord, *ib.*
Passions, the war of, in the natural man, x. 476. out of the mutiny of, Satan carves his opportunities to tempt us to sin, 480.
Passover, the metropolis of Jewish feasts, viii. 54, &c., 351, 380. how much the word imports, 428. prefigured Christ's and our resurrection, *ib.*
Pastors, conditional obedience to be rendered to, i. 350. must be endued with some power, *ib.* the fear of disobedience in the flock, first gave them occasion to usurp undue authority, 351. authority of, enforced and qualified by St. Peter, 352. usurped tyranny of, a sign of great rightful authority, *ib.* disobedience to, a dishonour to Christ, 354. may in some cases be disobeyed, *ib.* danger of disobeying even unworthy ones, 405. unworthy ones, a judgment for the people's disloyalty, *ib.* licentious disobedience to, in England from a dread of popish tyranny, severely censured, 408. original of jealousies against, in their flocks, ii. 347, 348.
Patience, Christian, nature of, iii. 394. hope of everlasting life the root of, x. 435.
Paul, St., plainness of his epistles in all points of Christian conduct, i. 430. why his doctrine in some epistles seems obscure, *ib.* passages in his First Epistle to the Corinthians misinterpreted by the council of Trent, ii. 218. his extraordinary fitness as apostle of the Gentiles, 242. his prerogative expired with himself, 243. submitted his teaching to the test of scripture, 483. his doctrine of justification reconciled with that of St. James, iii. 179, &c. 296, &c. his injunction that "prayers be made for all men" means, *singula generum*, not *genera singulorum*, v. 149. makes especial use of civil customs for illustrating Christian duties, vii. 145, 148, &c. his characters of the Son of God compared with the description of wisdom in the Book of Wisdom, 249. supposed to have been characterised by *little Benjamin their ruler*, viii. 457.
Paulus Quartus, licenses the breaking of oaths when the pope's dignity be at hazard, ii. 586.
Peace, spiritual, all spiritual blessings included under the name of, x. 473. the fruit of righteousness, and the root of joy, *ib.* how it passeth all understanding, 474. its nature described from the known sweetness of temporal peace, 475. its sweetness set forth from the war of passions in the natural man, 477.
Peace of the church, prayer of Erasmus for, viii. 180.
Pelagians, in the opposite extreme to the Stoics on the subject of free-will, iii. 338. vi. 486. xi. 382.
Pelagius misinterpreted the ancient fathers in exalting free-will and depressing grace, ix. 162.
Pererius, viii. 234.
Peresius denies δουλεία to saints, iv. 228.
Perfection, two senses of, iii. 352.
Perjury, the offspring of atheism, iv. 40. worse than idolatry, viii. 274. (see *Oaths.*) the punishment of, in ancient times, 277. when it follows or not, on the violation of

laws, xii. 274. encouraged by the church of Rome, 281.
Perseverance, in what it consists, iii. 356, &c. an indefinite term admitting of many degrees, ix. 300. may be considered either as to its objective or subjective certainty, *ib.* not to be inferred by any man for himself from God's faithfulness, x. 554.
Persian monarchy, an instrument of God's providence, v. 403.
Persians, worshippers of two gods, iv. 125.
Persuasions, variety of, how affecting the character of our actions, i. 355. the evils resulting from immature persuasions of our state in grace, ix. 374, &c. x. 440, 458, 548. xi. 195. the rule for examining such persuasions, ix. 207, &c.
Pescennius Niger, i. 224, 232.
Peter, St., was not the church to which our Lord in Matt. xviii. 17, commanded trespasses to be referred, ii. 234. our Lord's prayer for, no proof of his supremacy, 235. use of his fall, *ib.* his fall attributed by Bellarmine to defective charity, and not to failing faith, and why, 237. who they were that he was commanded to strengthen, 238. extraordinary fitness of, for the office of apostle of the circumcision, 240. viii. 204. not equally successful with Gentiles, ii. 242. prerogative of, expired with himself, 243. who were the sheep he was commanded to feed, *ib.* the command *Feed my sheep*, no proof of his supremacy, 245, &c. his own writings most of all others, free from any pretensions to his preeminence, 248. *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram*, Bellarmine's and Maldonate's reasons for this distinction of genders, 249. what his name *Cephas* imports, 250. why called *Cephas*, 252. viii. 339. his own commentary on our Lord's promise to him, the best proof of its sense, ii. 258. was ignorant of any such authority as the pope claims, and of the Roman rule of faith, 475, &c. x. 94. opposition between his, and his pretended successors' doctrine, ii. 477, &c. compassionate temper of, favoured the opinion of his supremacy, viii. 203. reason of his slackness in believing our Lord's resurrection, 391. his power in converting Jews, 423.
Peter Martyr, his definition of original sin, ix. 73. opposes the Lutheran opinions as to the ubiquity of Christ's body, x. 24.
Petrus Cluniacensis, persuades king Louis to war against the Saracens at the expense of the Jews, i. 249.
Phantasy, use of, for the active understanding, iv. 92—105.
Pharaoh, who was hardened, different from Pharaoh the infant killer, ix. 386. bound to make restitution to the Israelites for his predecessors' wrongs, 387. whence his hardening grew, 389, &c. hardening wrought by God's gentle checks to his unhallowed resolution, 390. degrees of his hardening, 400. whether his hardening was positive or privative, *ib.* his repentance like the devil's vow, 403. process of his hardening, 408, &c. infatuated, *ib.* itching humour of, to see more miracles, noted by Josephus, 409. his phrensy, 410. justice of retaliation exercised upon, 414. hardened by God's irresistible will, 455. not reprobate from his birth, 456. 475, &c. how his hardening was, and was not, determined by God's inevitable decree, 474, &c. his salvation not absolutely impossible, 486.
——— the infant-killer, moved to murder the infants by fame of a Hebrew child to be born, ix. 387.
Philip Augustus, his severe edict against the Jews, i. 256.
Philip the Fair, banishes the Jews from France, i. 266.
Philo Judæus, his expression of God's immensity, v. 52. probable author of the Book of Wisdom, vii. 250. ix. 416. comment of, on Melchisedec's offering of bread and wine to Abraham, viii. 241.
Philosophy, natural, tendency of, to Atheism, iv. 45. special errors in, which have led to idolatry, 155.
Philosophers, ancient, more careful in assigning final causes, the mo-

dern material causes, i. 111. an error of most, to attribute visible effects to external causes, x. 243.
Phœnicians, their wanderings under Cadmus, a story derived from the wandering of the Israelites, i. 97.
Photius, viii. 204.
Pighius, his account of inherent righteousness, iii. 331.
Pilate, his power over our Lord a branch of satanical power, xii. 319.
Pineda, viii. 86. x. 91.
Piscator, ix. 468.
Pity, want and misery not the only mother of, v. 120. an attribute of the Divine nature. *ib.*
Pius IV., pope, xii. 68. his additions to the Nicene Creed, 167.
Pius V., pope, excommunicates queen Elizabeth, xii. 208.
Place and time, necessary conditions of sense, iv. 140. v. 43. finite natures, v. 42. had no existence before the creation, 51.
Plato, not an enemy to poetry, but wished to restore it to its natural use, i. 89. derived his philosophy from the writings of Moses, 115. his opinion of three orders of human beings at first, a misconceit of Moses's diverse mention of man's creation, *ib.* his doctrine of reminiscence founded on truth, iv. 84, &c. his true philosophy of essence, v. 27. rightly denies sensible things truly to be, *ib.* one sense of his doctrine of independent ideas not to be approved of, 36. his doctrine of Λόγος derived from Hebrew tradition, vii. 243. his doctrine of transmigration of souls, x. 242. truth extracted from his doctrine of the soul, *ib.* just sentiments of, touching social union, xi. 29.
Pleasure, nature of, metaphysically explained, iv. 89.
——— sensual, the vanity of, even according to heathen notions, x. 366. not equivalent to the pain of the precedent desires, 368. a remedy which increases the disease, *ib.* contrasted with the pleasure of holiness 369. should be judged of, as it looks in its passage from us, not to us, 456.
Pliny the elder, the cause of his death, i. 211. vi. 182. ascribes the practices of magic to medicine, iv. 168. his testimony as to the reality of original sin, ix. 39.
Pliny the younger, his testimony to the character of the early Christians, i. 20. 147. curious coincidence of his description of the eruption of Vesuvius, with Joel's prophecy of *pillars of smoke*, 212. testimony of, as to the religious effect of affliction, iv. 70.
Plotinus, mixture of divine truth in the writings of, iv. 404. his philosophy more divine than that of the Stoics, v. 27. excellent observation of, as to the dependence of generable things upon an inexhaustible fountain of life, 62. his brief but correct definition of eternity, 67. perplexities which an ignorance of his philosophy has occasioned logicians, 69.
Plutarch, his reasons for the decay of heathen oracles, i. 61. his narrative of Pan's death a counterfeit of Christ's sacrifice, *ib.* mistook the story of Crassus' death, 135. his distinction between *fortune* and *chance*, v. 348. how far right in ascribing the greatness of the Roman empire to fortune, 434.
Pœna damni and *pœna sensus*, question by schoolmen whether is greater, x. 388. not opposite but coincident things, *ib.*
Poetry, its origin, i. 86. why easier to the ancients than to moderns, *ib.* sacred, most rare among us, but most common among the ancients, 87. its use among the ancients, 88. the progenitor of history and rhetoric, *ib.* the natural expression of strong affections, 91. hence mimicked by Satan, *ib.* nutriment afforded by, to superstition and idolatry, iv. 172, &c.
Poets, fictions of heathen, only patterns of historical truth, i. 54.
Polanus, his interpretation of Daniel ch. vii. 13. x. 186.
Politicians, ignorance of, in not observing the rules of God's providence, i. 75. v. 389, 502. their observations useless for future times, v. 389. their rules uncertain, and unsafe to rely upon, 503.

Polybius, his error as to the cause of Antiochus Epiphanes' death, i. 137.
Pomeranus, vi. 201.
Pompey, his reverence for the Jewish religion, i. 129. the change in his fortune, and his overthrow, owing to his entering the *sanctum sanctorum*, 130.
Pontanus, vi. 269.
Poor, *have the gospel preached to them*, the full import of the original words, vi. 336. 456. the duty of charity to, x. 587, &c. their immoral condition makes them greater objects of compassion, 589. the evil of their not having a fixed abode, 590.
Pope, not qualified to expound scripture, i. 445. the authority he usurps equal to what Simon Magus sought, and St. Peter's refusal of the one a proof that he did not bestow the other, 452. arguments for his supreme authority, from reason or convenience, shewn to tell the other way, ii. 99. ordinary and plenary power of, 178. shewn to be successor to our Lord's reproof to Peter, 275. xii. 124. folly of deriving his authority from the apostle of the circumcision, ii. 288. belief of his authority resolved finally up to his own testimony, 294. his own belief of his pretended succession, shewn to be liable to error, 295. his authority, how distinguished from that of the fathers by Bellarmine, 298. made a supreme head of equal rank with Christ, 269. 300. the plea for his infallibility might be equally used by a devil in his place, 306. the authority he claims greater than any which ever existed in the world, 309, &c. argument for his authority from the authority of Jewish priests, 310, &c. his feigned authority greater than that of Moses, 372, &c. and even than our Lord's, whose doctrine was to be tested, while the pope's is not, 421. is Antichrist, 471. xii. 183. the authority he claims unknown to St. Peter, ii. 475. xii. 212. the doctrine of his supremacy a deadly error, xii. 117. his power compared with regal, and shewn inferior, 194. Romanists' two grounds for claiming general obedience to, 200. question as to his power of deposing princes handled, 207, &c. such power not known in the primitive church, 251. absolute obedience to, an inversion of God's law, 276. instances of his inverting God's principal laws, 277, &c.
Popes, depraved character of some, i. 451. to attribute infallibility to such, like blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, *ib.*
Pope's decrees, less certain to the unlearned than the scriptures, i. 334. style of, easy of counterfeit, 336.
Portia, her sympathy with Brutus an example to us, xi. 98.
Possibility, distinguished by schoolmen into absolute and relative, v. 218. absolute possibility, that which does not imply a contradiction, and the object of Omnipotent power, *ib.* 298. ix. 227. 487. x. 247. 249. 254. logical, presupposed to the working of God's power, ix. 357. reduction of, into act, does not impair God's power, 488. x. 248. the non-reduction of, into act, does not lapse it with God, except *pro illa vice*, x. 249.
Power, every degree of, a shadow of infinite power, v. 78. something of active force even in passive power, *ib.* inability to disenable itself, implies the highest perfection, 220. (see *Omnipotency*.) no argument of, to be illimited by law, *ib.* true power is to do what we will, and will what we ought, *ib.* ix. 98. no delegated power can be omnipotent, v. 258, &c.
Power ecclesiastic, either *directive* or *coercive*, xii. 199. made by Romanists to reside solely in the clergy, 200. dependence and difference between coercive ecclesiastic power, and power spiritual, the same as between the *judicial* and *moral* law of God, 215. none to inflict corporal punishments on men, was possessed by the church for the first 300 years, 218. coercive ecclesiastic power not necessarily monarchical, 224.

Power, infinite, how manifested in the creature, v. 78, &c. (see *Omnipotency.*)
Power, spiritual, arguments for its supremacy stated and answered, xii. 191, &c. how manifested, 193. more excellent than temporal power, 191, 194. its superiority over temporal, does not infer the duty of greater absolute obedience to ecclesiastic, than to secular governors, 194. how connected with ecclesiastic coercive power, 215. consists in preaching, administering sacraments, and excommunicating and absolving, *ib.*
Power, temporal, immediately from God, xii. 191, 194. subordinate to power ecclesiastic, both as directive, and coercive, 199, 214. its subordination to ecclesiastic, no prejudice to secular governments, *ib.* 225. how far binding on the conscience, 258.
Power, various sorts of, xii. 306. question whether usurped power, *well* used, may be resisted, answered affirmatively, 316. whether lawful power *ill* used may be resisted, answered negatively, *ib.*
Powers, (see *Higher.*)
Præmunire, statutes of, their cause, xii. 113.
Pray, what it is to pray in faith, iii. 281, 357, 367. xi. 58.
Prayer, the efficacy of, vi. 27—48. 51. ineffectual without fear, 59. for all conditions of men, vindicated, 166, &c. v. 149. the style of, used by the ancient Jews, vii. 373. 515. why usually concluded *through Jesus Christ*, and not *for the sake of*, viii. 251. every good work a real prayer, x. 588.
Prayer to the dead, origin of, among Christians, iv. 208, &c. Romanist reason for, derogatory to God's majesty, xi. 206.
Preachers, should be duly catechised, ix. 550. should maintain the double hedge of everlasting life and everlasting death, xi. 217.
Preaching, (see *Prophesying.*)
Precepts, universal precepts of scripture limited by their proper subjects and ends, ii. 310. why *negative* precepts provoke sin more than *affirmative* ones, ix. 53. transcendental precepts of scripture, xi. 87. bond of God's negative precepts universal, xii. 263.
Predestination, doctrine of, founded upon misrepresentations of God's attributes, iv. 369. (see *Election* and *Reprobation.*) whence derived, ix. 536. the doctrine of absolute predestination robs Christ of His characters as Priest and Judge, 537. (see *Decree.*)
"Prelate and Prince," a book maintaining the pope's supremacy against that of kings, xii. 191, &c. saucy lecture of, to king James, 337.
Prelates, caution to be observed by, in the exercise of their power, xii. 104.
Prevent us, O Lord, &c., a prayer which most pithily expresses the concurrence of grace and free-will, ix. 263.
Pride, what share it had in original sin, vii. 412. 421.
Priests, Jewish, obedience to, conditional, ii. 310. infallibility of, not absolute, but dependent on their continency and integrity, 314. authority of, not annulled, but ratified by our Lord, 363. were the strongest opponents of truth, 410, &c.
Priesthood, usurped tyranny of, a proof of great rightful authority, i. 351. its three dimensions, sacrifice, prayer, and blessing, viii. 239.
Primacy of the pope, overthrown, ii. 235, &c.
Princes, (see *Kings.*)
Printing abused, vi. 76. xi. 181. 215.
Priscian, iv. 218.
Private judgment, objections against, from dissensions among the learned, conclude as much against God's prophets and faithful people of old, ii. 57, &c. the duty of, 60. Luther's two reasons for the duty of, 174. authenticity given to, by a participation of that Spirit by which the scriptures were written, 481.
Prophecy, the probable time of its cessation, i. 73. its twofold sense, 195. vi. 295. 355. four modes of fulfilment of, according to Mal-

donate, ii. 364, note. testimony of, a stronger proof of our Lord's Messiaship, than His miracles, ii. 426. 469. the gift of, not habitual to ordinary prophets, 447. superior to miracles for begetting faith, 453. viii. 390. more easily interpreted by the ancient Jews than by modern, ii. 462. what kind of events it must foretell to prove its inspiration, vi. 348. vii. 29, &c. expressed in various ways, in literal terms, in allegory, or by types, vi. 381. vii. 25. how prophecies, especially in the Psalms, are fulfilled in a peculiar sense not ordinarily observed, vi. 392. the full accomplishment of, usually preceded by a sign, 425. often fulfilled more than once in different measures, vii. 82, &c. 179. x. 187, &c. the fulfilling of, no cause of the Jews' infidelity, vii. 102. ambiguous sense of (see *Oracles of God*). how far we may benefit by Jewish interpretations of, 332.

Prophesying, inordinate liberty of, brought errors into the church, and disgraced the Reformation, ix. 550, &c.

Prophets, college of, possessed no such authority as the Romish church claims, ii. 399. posterity's affection to, after death, an argument, not of sincerity but of hypocrisy, 410. xi. 267, 273, &c. how true ones were to be known by the people, when the majority of those in ecclesiastical authority condemned them, ii. 416, 436. all to be finally tested by Moses' writings, 423. false ones, though permitted to counterfeit, always condemned on a formal trial with true, 444. ordinary ones, not always illuminated, 447. how far they foresaw what they foretold, vii. 109, &c. viii. 89. difference between them and heathen soothsayers in respect of foresight, vii. 109, &c. what is meant by being *built upon the foundation of the prophets*, 119. their allusion to historical events a cause of their obscurity to us, xi. 287.

Prosper, observation of, on Romans ch. vi. 16, x. 344.

Prosperity, (see *Affluence.*) always taken to be a pledge of God's love, v. 335.

Proverb, *Ancilla plus vidit ad mare Rubrum, et montem Sinai, quam viderint omnes prophetæ*, a Hebrew one, ii. 381, note.

Proverbs, ch. iii. 16, to what custom it alludes, vol. vii. 139.

Providence, Divine, how all things are dependent on it, v. 264. manifestations of, in the erection and decline of kingdoms, 374, &c. to be traced in matters of war, 459, 481. more admirable in ordinary events than in miracles, 487. vi. 11, 40. shewn in defeating cunning plots, 489.

Psalm ii. fulfilment of, viii. 375, 415. ver. 7, prophetical of Christ's resurrection, 405.

Ps. viii. fulfilled by the children's crying Hosanna in the temple, viii. 67. ver. 5, equivocal sense of, vii. 125. viii. 76.

Ps. xv. prophetical of Christ's ascension, viii. 441.

Ps. xvi. both historical and prophetical, vii. 267.

Ps. xix. 4, 5, allusion of, explained, vii. 143.

Ps. xxii. both historical and prophetical, viii. 138.

Ps. xxiv. prophetical of Christ's ascension, viii. 444.

Ps. xl. doubt as to the author of, viii. 84. ver. 8, different interpretations of, 85. *Mine ears hast thou opened* equivalent to *A body hast thou prepared me*, 86, &c.

Ps. lxviii. on what occasion composed, viii. 447. ver. 18, the mystical sense of, shewn from Ephes. ch. iv. 8, 454. ver. 27, fulfilled in Christ and his apostles, 457.

Ps. lxxxii. prophetical of Christ's unjust condemnation, viii. 95.

Ps. lxxxix. commentary on, viii. 308, &c. not written by David, 309. its probable date, *ib.*

Ps. xc. expounded, vii. 161.

Ps. xcvii. 7, reconciled with Deut. ch. xxxii. 43, vol. x. 118.

Psalms cii. ciii. prophetical of the incarnation, vii. 262, &c., x. 119.

Ps. cix. why used at the degra-

dation of bishops, vii. 139. ver. 6, explained, *ib.* the imprecations of, meant of Judas Iscariot, viii. 126, &c.
Ps. cxviii. on what occasion composed, viii. 40, &c.
Ps. cxlvi. interpreted of *God manifest in the flesh*, vii. 187. exception of Jews against this interpretation answered, 194.
Psalmists, why the later had not so manifest experience of God's favour, as the ancient, i. 47. were both prophets and types of Christ in His sufferings, viii. 103.
Psalms, agreement of their tone with historical truth, a proof of their not being fiction, i. 45. fulfilled in a peculiar sense not ordinarily observed, vi. 392. attempts of Theodoret and Melancthon to determine their authorship, vii. 92. predictions in, of *God manifest in the flesh*, 182.
Ptolemy Philadelphus, releases 100,000 Jews, i. 127.
Punishment, everlasting, not unjustly annexed to transgressions temporal, v. 194, 233. x. 390, 528. the usual defence of, on the ground of all sin being committed against an infinite Majesty, not warranted by scripture, x. 390.
——, public, the rule of, xi. 16.
Purity of heart, the first qualification for preventing erroneous conceits of the divine nature, iv. 403. what kind may be expected, 406. directions of heathens for its attainment, 410.
Pythagoreans, their most solemn oath by the number *three*, viii. 262. opinions of, witnessing to a future judgment, x. 141. truth extracted from their doctrine of transmigration, 241. did not deny an eternal rest to mens' souls at last, 242. learnt their doctrine of transmigration from the Druids, *ib.*

Queen Elizabeth, excommunicated by Pius V., xii. 208.
Queen to Theodoric, poisoned in the chalice by her daughter, ii. 211.
Question of John the Baptist, *Art thou He that should come?* a treatise upon, vi. 307—494. what moved John to make it, 310, &c. Christ's answer to, how satisfactory, 315, &c.

Rachel, what is portended by the erection and preservation of the pillar of her grave, vi. 298. her tears, sermon upon, 445.
Rahab, her conduct an instance of lively faith, iii. 182. the ground of her justification, 290, 304, 306.
Rainbow, heathen account of, a semblance of truth, i. 110. not before the flood, 112. recognised by Homer as the sign of the assuaging of waters, 113. colours of, signify the destruction of the old world by water, and this by fire, 114.
Rama, *In Rama was there a voice heard*, difficulty in the interpretation of, vi. 278.
Ratisbon, conference of, iii. 328.
Ravaillac, ii. 577.
Ravenna, church of, its Litany, iv. 336.
Readers licensed, discipline of, in Jackson's time, ix. 550.
Real presence in the Eucharist, a truth unquestionable among the ancient fathers, ix. 598. the ancient doctrine of, distinguished from the Roman and Lutheran view, *ib.* x. 41. a *virtual* presence, ix. 610, x. 53. 261. not implied by *local* presence, ix. 610.
Reason, use of, for determining controversies in divinity, v. 315. ix. 17, &c. Aristotle, Plato, and other guides of, provided by God and thankfully to be acknowledged, ix. 19, 20. not the only guide of faith, 44. a competent *witness*, though not a *judge* of divine mysteries, 146. developement of, causes sin to quicken, 323.
Reason and cause, synonymous in matters of belief, ii. 127, note.
Rechabites, live in the form of a kingdom, i. 255.
Reconciliation, two parts of, active and passive, ix. 538, 559. x. 437. how wrought, x. 437.
Redemption, four parts or degrees of, viii. 219. in what sense extended to all mankind, *ib.* prefigured by the redeeming of the firstborn males, 433. three uses

of the doctrine of universal redemption, x. 68. a more free act of God than creation, 552.

Reflection, the power of, the characteristic quality in man, and the root of his free-will, ix. 171, &c.

Reformation, obstacles to all, offered by the world, iii. 224. reformation of *contradiction* distinguished from that of *contrariety*, xi. 178.

——— the, disgraced and hindered by inordinate liberty of prophesying, ix. 550. abuses and errors which it aimed to correct, xi. 166. disparaged by extreme errors contrary to those which it condemned, 172, &c.

Reformers, points wherein they condemned themselves in judging the church of Rome, xi. 166, &c. the temper and bounds of the right and of the rigid reformers, 178.

Regal power, shewn to be more immediately from God than the papal, xii. 194, &c. had its root from the power of fathers over children, 311. differs from paternal only in extent, 312. the most agreeable to nature, *ib.* how far a usurper of, may be resisted, 316, 317. tyrannical exercise of, in a lawful king, not to be resisted, 316.

Regenerate, need Christ's constant intercession, ix. 578.

Regeneration, not one act, ix. 52. the effect of baptism, 201. x. 338. the same measure of, not sufficient for all periods of life, ix. 203. 323. is the renewal of God's image and the blotting out of Satan's within us, x. 410.

Regulus, the heroic act of, witnesseth to a future judgment, x. 148.

Reinolds, Dr., ix. 416. xii. 145.

Remember, how much the word includes in scripture, iii. 121, 122.

Repentance, not essentially distinct from faith, iii. 358. conceived and moderated by faith, 359. possibility of, proved by God's exhortations to repent, v. 316. in what sense attributed to God, vi. 91. not always possible, 137. the punishment of those who hold it to be impossible, x. 392. confession of forefathers' sins a necessary part of it, xi. 340.

Reprobates, to whom the term is applied by St. Paul, vii. 155. what kind of persons deserve the name, 398. the division of men into elect and reprobates, leads to presumption and despair, ix. 312. 553. xi. 193. in what sense men are said to be reprobates from eternity, ix. 339. not to be distinguished from the elect till the final judgment, x. 192.

Reprobation, doctrine of absolute reprobation a misrepresentation of the attributes of God, iv. 369. points connected with, to be determined by more general points, ix. 298. result of a complete measure of disobedience, 303, &c. decree of, not terminated to men's individual entities, but to their works, 314. 370. 570. x. 459. xi. 209. not necessary from eternity, ix. 317. to make it destined by God for any man, makes God the author of sin, 319. blasphemous consequences which result from the doctrine of absolute reprobation, 380. 537. xi. 207. true nature of, shewn in the case of Pharaoh, 384, &c. 469, &c. only an erroneous opinion as held by Calvin, but a blasphemous imagination since, xi. 209.

Resistance, distinguished from nonobedience and disobedience, xii. 326.

Resurrection of our Lord, the strongest condemnation of the Jews, ii. 464. the completion of His consecration as an everlasting High Priest, viii. 215, 238, 249, 359, 383. typified by Isaac's deliverance, 151, 370, 396. might have been inferred from Moses and the prophets, 393. ii. 466, 467. implied in the first promise to Eve, viii. 394. prefigured by Joseph's imprisonment and exaltation, 401. testimonies of, which were most insisted upon by the apostles, 404. may be truly called His nativity, 413. how betokened by the passover, 428, &c. the time of, reconciled with the three days and three nights, 474, &c. parallel between the day of, and the first day of

creation, 483. what was betokened by its falling upon the day of offering the first fruits, 484.

Resurrection of the body, x. 234. importance of fortifying the doctrine, 237. the point which Satan chiefly tries to subvert, *ib.* men in all ages prone to disbelieve it, *ib.* implicit notions of, possessed by heathens, 240. immortality of the soul not a necessary antecedent for believing it, 245. the denial of, more fatal as implying a doubt of God's *power*, 246. the possibility of, proved, by establishing the point, that, annihilation supposed, God is able to reproduce the numerical same, 248, &c. the end of the Eucharist, 260. effected by Christ's *virtual* influence, and not by corporal participation of His body, *ib.* conclusiveness of St. Paul's argument for, in 1 Cor. xv. 35, 261, &c. objection to the same argument for, answered, 265. illustrations of, from the works of nature, used by the fathers, 264. a work manifesting greater power of God than works of nature, 270. how the resurrection of our *selfsame* bodies may be inferred from St. Paul's instance of seed sown, 273, &c. how far we are bound to believe in the resurrection of the *same* body, 277. not wrought by God's sustentative power only, 278. St. Paul's similitude of, not to be extended too far, *ib.* comfort to be derived from the doctrine, 280. how the doctrine should influence us in the choice of friends, 281. the atheist's and naturalist's objection to, put home and answered, 283, &c. heathens' artifices to defeat the early Christians' hope of, 283. the accomplishment of, supposed by some ancient fathers to be by a recollection of the fragments of each body, 287. similitudes of, used by some fathers, from works of art, *ib.* rested by the fathers principally on God's creative power, *ib.* must rest on God's creative power, 288. difficulties of, arising from the transmutations of matter by cannibalism, and in other ways, stated, 288—291. and answered, 292. scruple as to the resurrection of the *same* body, from a notion of its unity being interrupted by death, removed, 300. reciprocal inference from Christ's and ours, 307, &c. how proved from that of our Lord, 314, 321, &c.

Retaliation, a branch of divine justice, v. 506. xii. 247. executed sometimes by the law of *distributive* justice, v. 511. instanced in the history of Louis XI., 512. executed sometimes by the rule of *commutative* justice, 520. instanced in Pharaoh, Ahab, and Jezebel, 521. instances of its execution upon children for the sins of their parents, 525. exemplified in David and St. Paul, 531. not always the rule of justice, divine or human, vii. 491. the rule of, will be strictly observed in the future state, x. 453. prevented by the rule *Do as you would be done by*, xi. 15.

Retirement, a help to devotion, iv. 186.

Reward and punishment, the right dispensation of, the life of good government, x. 353. honour and infamy rightly made the greatest, *ib.* misbelief and unbelief of future, the cause of sin, 439.

Rhemists, their defence of the sacrifice of the mass, ix. 584. their distinction of *bloody* and *bloodless sacrifice* a frivolous shift, *ib.*

Ribera, iv. 7. denies Heb. i. 6, to refer to the Son of God's first coming into the world, vii. 390. mistranslates Zech. ch. xiv. 3, viii. 498.

Richard I., his coronation marked by a massacre of the Jews, i. 257.

Riches, how a hinderance to faith, iii. 320.

Righteousness, different senses of the word, x. 535.

——— inherent, how far necessary for justification, iii. 286, &c. in what sense a cause of final absolution, according to Romanists, 317, &c.

——— original, not a supernatural grace, ix. 6. 65. x. 541, consisted in the *image* of God, ix. 10. 65. could not be merited, x. 542.

Righteous men, the souls of, in a place of bliss before, but bettered by, Christ's ascension, viii. 437. ix. 515. &c.
Right hand, to sit at the right hand, the highest place of honour among the Jews, x. 2.
Rindeflaish, his massacre of Jews in Germany on a pretended warrant from heaven, i. 265.
Roa, vii. 142.
Rock, Christ, and not St. Peter, the rock, ii. 249, &c. *On this rock I will build my church*, explained, 254.
Rodulphus Vilis, a monk, preached that it was just to spoil the Jews to maintain the holy war, i. 249.
Roman empire, want of reverence to the Jewish religion the cause of its fall, i. 130, &c. its rise and ruin an instance of God's special providence, v. 433.
Romanists, objections of, to the sufficiency of scripture, twofold, i. 328. heads of agreement and difference between them and us, as to the revealed word of God, 345. their doctrine of church authority, as an absolute rule of faith, opposed to scripture being such, 415. faith of, shewn, against Bellarmine, to be no more certain than that of protestants, ii. 188, &c. in what sense they deny Christ to be come in the flesh, 267. their notions of Christ with respect to His church, but as of another Romulus, 273. their expectation of Antichrist parallel to the Jews' expectation of Messias, 285. belief of, merely human, 287, &c. faith of, resolved into church authority as its prime cause, 507—532. truly and properly believe the church only, not scripture, 532, &c. xii. 180. error of, as to the nature of faith and charity, iii. 160, &c. the interest they have in denying theology to be a science, vii. 15. shifts of, to maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation, x. 254, &c. issue of the controversy between them and reformed churches, as to the merit of good works, 512. arguments of, for establishing the merit of works, 513, &c. 592. compared with Pharisees in their opinions of works, 602. should not be called *Catholics* without some additional epithet, xii. 159. their assumption of the name *Catholic*, 160. pretence of, in England, for non-obedience, 330.
Roman liturgy, rhetorical exaggerations in, iv. 210. assigns unto saints titles which belong only to God, 254. its form of commending the soul to God at death, 262, 263. leaven of Gentilism in, 335.
Romans, Epistle to the, why worse interpreted than any other part of scripture, viii. 256. the scope and end of, ix. 426.
ch. ii. 1, four sermons upon, xi. 140—217. does not disparage lawful magistracy, 142. *πᾶς ὁ κρίνων* explained by the rule of Hebrew particles, 147.
ch. v. 13—21. explained, ix. 50.
ch. vi. paraphrase upon, x. 332, &c. ver. 5, *planted together*, meaning of, 342. ver. 23, comment on, 511, &c.
ch. vii. neither meant of the regenerate, nor of the totally unregenerate, but of a man *inter regenerandum*, ix. 53, &c.
ch. viii. 12, &c. paraphrase on, 193, &c. ver. 15. allusion contained in, explained, vii. 145.
ch. ix. 16, exposition of, ix. 425. vv. 18—24, expounded, vii. 159. ix. 448.
ch. xiii. 1, expounded, xii. 189, &c. vv. 1, 2, expounded, 305, &c. ver. 2, sermon upon, preached the 5th Nov., 325. ver. 9, *if there be any other commandment*, explained, xi. 40.
Romans, their dulness in not recognising God's power in their struggles with the Jews, i. 142.
Roman writers, why they take no notice of our Saviour's acts, i. 242.
Rome heathen and Rome Christian, identity of superstition in, iv. 203. 329.
Rule of faith (see *Scriptures*), pretended excellency of the Roman, impeached from the frequency of early heresies, and the imperfection of Roman church union, ii. 16, &c. insufficiency of the Ro-

man rule, 132, &c. difference between the church of England and the church of Rome concerning, xii. 168.
Rules, universal, how framed, v. 231. in what subjects easy, and in which difficult to frame, 232, &c.

Sabbath, precept of, admitted of exception, ii. 317. the Jewish, not destroyed, but changed to the Lord's day, viii. 346. the omission of any evening of it in the history of the creation, representative of a mystery, 231, 477.
Sacramental and *spiritual*, distinguished, x. 51. not opposite terms, but subordinate, 62.
Sacraments, priest's intention in, (see *Intention.*) institution of, allowed by Romanists to be peculiar to Christ, ii. 179. although increased and exalted by the Roman church, yet with them only doubtful means of grace, xi. 188, 189.
Sacred writers, experiments of the truth of scriptures drawn from their affections, i. 39, &c. affections of, most discoverable in the Psalms, *ib.* their feelings contrasted with those of heathens, 44. their variety of description, but unity of purpose, 119. sobriety of, in relating true miracles, contrasted with the heathens' vanity in coining fruitless wonders, 121, &c.
——— writings, why none extant of the age immediately after the completion of the canon of the New Testament, i. 208.
Sacrifices and hymns, considered by heathens as due only to God, iv. 265.
Sacrifices, not acceptable without obedience, vii. 495.
——— legal, compared with Christ's One sacrifice, ix. 526, &c. 589. repetition of, a sign of their imperfection, 530, 583. were but a favourable commutation of punishment, 588. how they prefigured Christ's, 599. had two uses, one expiatory, the other sacramental, xii. 82.
Sacrilege, peculiar to coercive powers, xi. 170. equivalent to idolatry, 210.
Sacroboscus, attempt of, to evade the circular fallacy of the Roman faith, ii. 128. reply of, to Dr. Whittaker, as to the ultimate resolution of faith, 490, 512. his explanation of the nature of adoration paid to images, iv. 295, &c.
Saints, in what sense made mediators by the Roman church, iv. 217, &c. what sort of honour we should pay them, 231, &c. 247, &c. the respect due to, when absent, only differs in degree from that due to them when present, 247, &c. titles given to, by Romanists, which belong only to God, 254. the adoration of, even though speculatively not wrong, yet practically most dangerous, 277, &c. even the lawfulness of worshipping true ones, no warrant for worshipping what we suspect to be false, 324. in determining who are such, the pope claims greater power than God's, xii. 278.
Salmeron, iv. 246.
Salmuth, iv. 136.
Salus populi suprema lex est, xii. 274.
Salvation, how God wills the salvation of all men, v. 148, &c. xi. 364—392. in what sense we are said to work out our salvation, *non formaliter, sed consecutive*, ix. 220. that it is only from God's grace, shewn in a comment on Romans, ch. ix. 16, 425, &c. doubt of, justly charged upon the church of Rome, xi. 185. the effects of a hasty assurance of, (see *Assurance, Election.*) not a work of God's *power* merely, but requiring a harmony of His mercy and justice, xi. 378. the maxim, *Out of the church no salvation*, how far true, xii. 89, &c.
Salvianus, (bishop,) instances from, of the special providence of God, v. 466. xi. 103. states the same vices to be worse in Christians than in heathens, xi. 216. observation of, as to God's method in the punishment of nations, xii. 344.
Samson, history of, counterfeited by the story of Nisus and Scylla, i. 99. how a type of Christ, viii. 83.

Samuel, his rejection by the Israelites was a rejection of Christ, i. 252, &c. ii. 459. viii. 107. fulfilment of, 1 Sam. ch. viii. 11—17, in modern times, i. 253. 1 Sam. ch. x. 8, different interpretations of, vi. 102. vii. 124.

Sanctum sanctorum, a type of the heavenly sanctuary, viii. 443. ix. 514.

Sanhedrim, authority of, limited, ii. 329, &c. to maintain its infallibility, as the Papists do, is to justify the condemnation of our Lord, 353.

Saracens, proved to be true descendants of Ishmael, i. 219. the same people as the *Scenitæ Arabes*, 221. description of their character by heathen historians, a verification of the prophecy concerning Ishmael, 223. inherited religious ceremonies from Abraham, 226. their name first occurs in Ptolemy, 231. and adopted from Sarah, to obliterate the memory of their bastardy, *ib.* their persecution of Christians greater than other enemies', 233, 234.

Sasbout, his explanation of the various senses of *belief*, iii. 161, note, 168.

Satan, from what beginning said by St. John to sin, vii. 402, &c. created righteous, 403. his malice against man made his sin more unpardonable than man's, 404, 405. what his first sin probably was, 413, 414. what works of his Christ came to destroy, 418. God's dealing with, equitable, 435, 506. does more harm by subordinate instruments than by his own immediate power, 503. the means he uses to draw us to sin, iii. 87, 88. x. 430. rules to check him, *ib.* lost all freedom in respect of goodness, ix. 179. (See *Angels.*)

Saul, the cause of his rejection, vi. 100. judgments on, for violating the oath to the Gibeonites, viii. 269.

Savanorola, Jerome, his prediction of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy, vi. 119.

Scandal, the fear of, often the occasion of scandal to others, xii. 294.

Scape-goat, the ceremony of, mystically fulfilled in our Lord's entrance into the wilderness, vi. 433. viii. 56, 163.

Schoolmen, assign not a right subordination of second causes to the first, i. 308. error of, concerning the nature of faith and charity, iii. 178, 183. their points concerning the hypostatical union summed up by Dr. Field, vii. 281. question raised by some, as to our Lord's dissolution, viii. 147. more faulty than Zuinglius on the subject of man's fall, ix. 22. lose the truth in *second notions*, 38.

Schuskenius, xii. 208.

Scibilia, distinguished from *opinabilia*, i. 8.

Science, abstract, why men are addicted to it, iii. 74.

Scipio, his destiny an instance of divine vengeance for interfering with the Jews, i. 140.

Scotus, iii. 189, 342.

Scriptures, their two motives, infinite good and infinite punishment, i. 18. possess claims on our attention above all sciences, from general consent, time, and the character of those skilled in them, 19. grounds of assent to, comprised in four propositions, 23. argument from their style, 26, &c. generally deficient in art, 32. argument from the harmony of their writers, 33. and their unity of purpose, 34. not composed from private motives, human purpose, or chance, 36. more certain experiments of their divine authority than of that of any other writings, 51. vii. 11. and these suited to every man, i. 51. contain a ruled case for the issue of every event in the world, 309. doubts as to interpolations in them resolved, 317, &c. sufficiency of, as a rule of faith, 326, &c. vi. 366. ix. 18. Romanist objections to the difficulty of their language, retorted as to the pope's decrees, i. 328. 330. not easily counterfeited in style, 336. a rule of faith, as Aristotle's Organon a rule in logic, 416. how a rule to the illiterate, 419. fulfil all the conditions of a perfect rule, 421. all not alike perspicuous to all ages, 424. nor

to all nations in the same age, 425. their degrees of perspicuity diverse according to men's conditions, 427. a sufficient rule to *all*, by containing sufficient rules for *each* in his own vocation, 428. more or less difficult according to men's capacities, 431. infallibility of church no remedy against their pretended obscurity, 435. themselves state the cause of their own obscurity and its remedy, 436. Valentian's perversion of, to prove them not a perspicuous rule, 439. qualification for understanding them aright, 442, &c. their obscurity often owing to a defective education, 462. their perspicuity proved from the end they have in view, and the manifest care of the writers to make them clear, 464. perspicuity of, to the spiritually-minded, proved from St. Paul, 492. heretics' appeal to them no argument against their sufficiency, nor any presumption against the orthodox, who do the same, ii. 10, &c. infidelity of Jews no just exception against their sufficiency, 38, &c. their sufficiency for final determination of controversies, proved by our Lord's and his apostles' authority, 42. contain a present remedy for any danger which can arise from reading them, 53. sense of, how perverted by self-love, iv. 374. and by strong fancy, 387. 397. literal and mystical sense of, vi. 355. vii. 60. viii. 429. only rule to try the church by, vi. 367, 368. characterical sense of, vii. 68. fulfilled in various senses, 77, &c. 179. whether fulfilled by way of accommodation, 93, &c. skill in meaner faculties necessary for understanding them, 138. x. 103. important doctrines of, confirmed by experiments in nature, and ourselves, x. 139. true sense of, as determinable by rules of art as the conclusions of any other sciences are, xii. 175, &c.

Scythians, their claim to antiquity a shadow of truth, i. 105.

Sebastian, St., hymn to, derogatory to Christ's attributes, iv. 331, 332.

Selah, not merely a character of music, but an indication of a mystery, viii. 146, 445.

Selden, Mr., vi. 269.

Self-denial, the only foundation of all obedience, ii. 323. the fundamental rule of Christianity, iii. 389. the most compendious means of obtaining faith, *ib.*

Self-will, in what it consists, v. 86.

Seneca, i. 144. his proof of our latent sense of a deity, iv. 178. asserts the dependence of all created things upon an immortal Governor, v. 16. his expression of the Deity's illimited being, 26.

Sense, not the origin of all in the understanding, iv. 81, &c. how it ministers to the understanding, 92—105. why the reasonable soul comes unduly to rely upon it, 103. how said to be of particulars, 105, &c. sometimes misinforms the understanding, 112. feeds, but does not originate, the desire of knowledge, 420, &c. in what manner it may be said to be in God, v. 34.

Senses, acquire, in proportion as they are improved, a greater capacity for pain, x. 380. may be inlets of death, 384. the grosser will be purified, and the purer satisfied in life eternal, 402.

Sentence, the final, consideration of its tenor will remove the notion of God's irrespective decree, x. 459. has been made the matter of much controversy, 570. respects both faith and works, 571.

Sepulveda, epistles of, to cardinal Contaren quoted, ii. 497, 498, note. his account of the Spanish Æra, vii. 319. his explanation of the object of the decree of Augustus mentioned by St. Luke, *ib.*

Sergius, monk, heresy of, blended with Mahomet's sorcery, v. 498.

Sermon on the Mount, stated the true meaning of the fundamental parts of the law, xi. 6. context of, not important for understanding it, *ib.* more coherently recorded by St. Luke than by St. Matthew, *ib.*

Sermons, why most necessary in towns, iv. 182.

Servitude, of two kinds, vii. 430.

ix. 84. x. 108. wherein the essential condition of it consists, vii. 431. ix. 91. analogy between civil slavery and servitude unto sin, vii. 432. ix. 95. not possible without some freewill, ix. 259.
Servitude unto sin the most real servitude, ix. 95. four branches of, 102. either natural or acquired, 103. good notions of the heathen concerning it, 110, &c. the manner of its beginning and progress, 125. not so great in man as in fallen angels, 182.
Session of Christ at the right hand of God. (see *Christ*.)
Seven, a mysterious number, viii. 359.
Severus, his assaults against Saracens thwarted by divine interference, i. 230. called from Britain to the Jewish war, 237. liked the Christians best for their observance of the rule *Do as you would be done by*, xi. 9. caused this rule to be written up in the courts of justice, *ib*.
Sforza, advances himself to the dukedom of Milan, iv. 312.
——— Francis, his submission to God's punishing justice, xi. 351.
Shame, what it is and whence it arises, x. 349. true distinguished from false, 351. the Decalogue the only rule for knowing what deserves it, *ib*. importance of implanting it in early education, 352. right use made of it by heathens, 352, 354. distinguished from modesty, 352. the consequence of sin, 353. an advantage to us in our present state, *ib*. use of, for government, *ib*. truth of the proverb, *Past shame, past grace*, 356. a quality more possessed by our first parents than by their descendants, 358. a sign of a final judgment, 361. a physical definition of, *ib*.
Shear-jashub, the import of the name, and of what he was a pledge, vii. 331, 339. the mystical fulfilment of the name, 339. its literal fulfilment, 342.
Sibylline oracles, whether they came originally from God or no, vii. 35. the perspicuity of their predictions does not argue them to be forged by Christians, 37. exact harmony of, with scripture prophecies, 39. their perspicuity as Divine revelations, does not prove the heathens' means of knowing God to be equal to Israel's, 43.
Sight, the sense most apt for influencing the affections, x. 409.
Sigismund, baron, his account of idolaters who worshipped serpents, iv. 119.
Sign of the Son of Man, how fulfilled at the destruction of Jerusalem, i. 195, &c.
Signs in the sun and moon, are past, i. 211, &c.
—— of the Times, a treatise upon, vi. 351—385. (see *Forewarnings*.)
Sin, in what it consists, i. 387. St. John's assertions concerning it in 1 Eph. i. 8, and iii. 9, reconciled, iii. 361, &c. distinction of *mortal* and *venial* not warranted by scripture, *ib*. note. in what sense God is said to permit it, v. 309. doubtful distinction between sin of *omission* and *commission*, 314. vii. 408. often punished according to the circumstances of time and place wherein committed, v. 534. whether it could not have been remitted without satisfaction, a point not determinable by man, vii. 392. how its remission, without satisfaction, might be contradictory to infinite justice, 393. not a mere privation, but a positive work, 405, &c. why said by St. Austin to be *nothing*, 406. objections to considering it nothing, *ib*. divines led to consider it privative by misapplying a metaphysical maxim, 407. its having a positive being does not infer that it was created by God, 410. manner of its first entrance into the works of God, ix. 11, &c. total restraint from, makes incapable of reward, 13. xi. 380. of its nature and properties in general, ix. 33, &c. rages in proportion as it is forbidden, 47, &c. how far natural, and how far acquired, 104. how far involuntary, 124. x. 430. quickens as reason ripens, ix. 322. not remitted before committed, 369, 541, 567, &c. under the law, remembered in a way

which sin under the gospel is not, 588. to antedate the pardon of, renders Christ's resurrection and baptism useless, 592. how to take the true measure of, x. 70. xi. 313, 389. the cause of Christ's incarnation and death, x. 317. how taken away by Christ's death, and how by his resurrection, 318, &c. taken away by His death in a two-fold sense, *ib.* in what sense every true Christian is said to be dead to it, 334, &c. how mortified by baptism, 335. service of, fruitless, shameful, and fatal, 347, 349. (see *Servitude.*) wages of, less than nothing compared with the reward of righteousness, 363. service of, compared with that of righteousness, in respect of this life, 364. caused by misbelief of future rewards and punishments, 439. instances of means by which men may be deterred from, 450. though only temporal, deserves eternal death, 528. (see *Punishment.*) St. Austin's definition of, xii. 259.

Sin against the HOLY GHOST, is no one specific sin, vii. 396. epidemical to the primitive time of the gospel, 399. why unpardonable, ix. 567. what constitutes it, x. 492. typified by the sin of the faithless spies of the Holy Land, 493. not committed by all that fall from saving grace, 495.

Sins of fathers, punished by counterpassion in princes, saints, and children, v. 506—534. justly visited on children, xi. 302, &c. 337. (see *Children.*)

Sinai, the same as Agar among Arabians, and mystery implied in its being so called, xii. 72.

Sincerity, often fallaciously urged for disobedience, i. 371, &c.

Singula generum and *genera singulorum* distinguished, v. 149. viii. 218. xi. 367.

Sirmium, council of, Arianized, xii. 63.

Sisebodus, his attempt to force the Jews to Christianity, i. 243.

Sixtus V., pope, i. 277.

Sobriety, what Christian sobriety implies, x. 508.

Society, more necessary to man than to any other creature, xii. 310. man strictly bound to observe the rules of, *ib.* none can stand without the order of superiority and subjection, 311.

Socinians, objections of, against satisfaction made by Christ, retorted and answered, vii. 216—220, 439. their objections against the eternal generation, answered, 220, &c. viii. 233. their denial of original sin confuted by heathen authority, ix. 44.

Solitude, a help to devotion, iv. 186.

Solomon, discourse on his prayer at the consecration of the temple, vi. 5—48. his prayer a model for those of the people afterwards, 30. his line of descendants extinct before the return from Babylon, vii. 307—310. viii. 311.

Solon, why he did not mention parricide in his laws, ix. 48.

SON OF GOD, the eternal generation of, proved, vii. 220, &c. assumed the human nature as an internal instrument, 288. (see *The Word.*) the circumcision of, implied in the covenant between God and Abraham, 356. viii. 290. His circumcision essential to make the covenant everlasting, vii. 358. what was signified by his being circumcised on the first of January, 362. doubts as to the day of his circumcision, 363. the title of *Lord* peculiar to. (see *Lord.*) his humiliation a fundamental point of belief, and rule of conduct, 380. wherein his humiliation properly consisted, 382, 386. how much is implied in his taking *the form of a servant*, 383. his dignity testified by signs during his humiliation, 388. what works of the devil He came to destroy, 418. xi. 162. how his humiliation was a remedy for original sin, vii. 421, &c. his being made of a woman a pledge of his redemption of her transgression, 423, 424. why He calls himself the *Son of Man*, 427. his assuming *the form of a servant*, the basis of his undertakings in the flesh, 428, 436, 463. *the form of a servant* a qualification distinct from his manhood, 429. the parts of his service two, 434.

the weapons by which He destroyed the works of Satan, 435. 506. not a servant by birth, 437. in what his being a servant formally consisted, 438. his obedience most conspicuous in his agony, 466. could not be the object of God's wrath, 493. the infinity of his nature, and not the infinity of his punishment, made his satisfaction infinite, *ib.* his sacrifice prefigured by the offering up of Isaac, viii. 149, &c. his eternity proved by his similitude to Melchisedec, 233. how He may be said to be exalted, x. 15, 22. useful general rule for determining prophecies relating to, 176. in a peculiar manner the king of old to the Jews, xi. 295. why called *the Word of God*, xi. 402. (see *Word.*)

Son of Man, why our Lord calls himself so, vii. 427. difference between the title as applied to Ezekiel, and to our Lord, *ib.*

Sophia, empress of Justin, unseasonable jest of, seriously punished, v. 497.

Sorcery, what it is, iii. 32. why men most easily slide into sorcery and idolatry, iv. 310.

Soto, ii. 85. rigid opinion of, as to the priests' intention in the sacraments, xi. 188.

Soul, how it becomes carnal, iv. 102. denial of its immortality accounted an impious opinion even among heathens, x. 238. immortality of, not a necessary antecedent to the belief of the resurrection of the body, 245.

Souls of the righteous, in a state of bliss before, but bettered by Christ's ascension, viii. 437. ix. 515, &c.

Sozomen, his account of the name *Saracen*, i. 231.

Space, infinite, no reality, but only a shadow of the Divine immensity, v. 43, 44.

Spain, church of, did anciently compute from the date of Augustus' decree, and why, vi. 428. vii. 318. date and place assigned by its writers to the issuing of this decree, vii. 318.

Speeches, ill effects of intemperate ones, v. 497, &c.

Spirit, diverse acceptations of the word, ix. 233.

——— of God, different meanings of, in scripture, ix. 235. effusion of, how signified by *rivers of waters*, vi. 395.

——— of man, diverse import of, ix. 233. distinct from reasonable soul, 236. not mortified, but quickened by the Spirit of God, 237. same as *synteresis*, 238. relics of God's image in, 248.

——— public and private, distinguished, ii. 192.

Spirits, evil, may conceive divine mysteries aright, ii. 264.

Stapleton, ii. 516. xii. 47.

States, (see *Kingdoms.*)

Stoics, in the contrary extreme to Pelagians on the matter of free-will, iii. 388. vi. 486. xi. 382. their restriction of the name of *essence* to Deity, v. 27. their doctrine of fate less dangerous than the doctrine of necessity among Christians, 303. their opinions of the self-sufficiency of virtue vain, without a future judgment, x. 152.

Strabo, his account of Moses' doctrine of dreams, i. 59. his account of poetry and its use, 88. his explanation of the Dead sea, 102. error of, as to the origin of the Israelites, 107. observation of, confirming the scripture account of Shem's posterity, *ib.* his generally correct account of the Jews, 149.

Strabo the Cappadocian, his testimony cited by Josephus to the wide spread of the Jews, i. 143.

Strachyquaz of Bohemia, his strange death, v. 538. what his name imports, *ib.*

Stubbornness, is degenerate steadfastness, i. 283.

Subjection, distinguished from obedience, xii. 253. due to higher powers, even in cases where obedience is sinful, 256. duty of, ordained by God *mediante lege naturæ*, 309. due even to wicked magistrates, 314.

Suetonius, records Josephus' prophecy of Vespasian, and the prodigies which happened to him, i. 175. states the general expecta-

tion of a universal monarch from Jewry, 176.
Suicide, a damnable presumption, x. 377.
Suidas, his interpretation of the use of the Urim and Thummim, ii. 312. makes our Lord's priesthood commence from His last supper, viii. 242.
Sunday, St., a picture in East Wickham church, iv. 138.
Supernatural things, defined, i. 12. believed on the authority of God, 13. grounds of assent to, comprised in four propositions, 23, &c.
Superstition, causes of, in the circumstances of time and place, iv. 144, &c. preventives against it prescribed by God, 153. temper of, akin to true devotion, 177, &c. the first occasions of, in Christians, 206, &c. how it may arise from a repetition or imitation of acts lawful in their first performance, 311, &c.
Superstitions, of Clovis king of the Franks, iv. 141. of Maximinus and the Moors, 143. of the Scotch for Magdalen day, 145. of the English for Childermass day, 146.
Sure mercies of David, what is meant by, viii. 421, &c.
Swarez, xii. 92.
Swisset, iii. 189.
Sympathy, implanted in brutes, xi. 90. the duty and manner of, with the afflicted, 91, &c. decorum in, taught by nature, 95, &c.
Synteresis, (see *Spirit of man.*)

Tabernacle, a type of heaven, viii. 443, 463. ix. 518. parallel between the rites of its dedication and of the consecration of the celestial tabernacles, ix. 519.
Tacitus, his false account of the Jews' character and influence with other nations, i. 145. his imputations against the Christians refuted by Pliny, and self-contradictory, 147. his account of the strength of Jerusalem, 183. attributes atheism only to one tribe of Germans, iv. 24. authority of, for the general expectation of a universal monarch, vi. 181.
Talmud, seems to justify the condemnation of Christ, ii. 353.
Taste, spiritual, what it is, x. 467. how to be acquired, *ib.* the chief work of the ministry to implant it, 473. the objects of. peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, *ib.* how to be preserved, 490, 496. the means whereby it is lost, 496. the danger of seeking to enjoy worldly pleasures together with it, *ib.* refined sins greater hinderances to it than grosser ones, 497. whether sinful acts destroy it by *efficiency*, as well as by *demerit*, 499. how worldly pleasures come to prevail against it, 500. moderation of worldly desires and natural affections necessary for gaining and preserving it, 505.
Temporal things, their mode of continuance an indication of an eternal duration, v. 60.
Temptation, how to resist it, iii. 87. x. 431.
Tertullian, iv. 75. x. 36. his pithy expression of God's immensity, v. 51. his interpretation of John the Baptist's message to our Lord, vi. 311. argument of, for the possibility of a resurrection, x. 253, 279.
Testament, how it differs from a covenant, ix. 524.
——— Old, certain books of, unanimously allowed canonical, i. 312. apocryphal books of, how disclaimed by our church, *ib.* a perfect rule to the Jews, ii. 37.
——— New, some books of, doubted by some reformed churches, i. 313. rule for expounding difficult passages of, ix. 458.
Testaments, Old and New, consonancy between their promulgation, xii. 79, &c. how opposed to each other, 81.
Tharasius, patriarch of Constantinople, heathenish assertion of, that *all evil is equal*, xii. 102. added the invocation of saints, and image-worship, as articles of faith, 166.
Tharsish, where it was, vi. 268.
Theodoret, attempt of, to determine the authors of the Psalms, vii. 92. his opinion as to the date of Ps. cxviii., viii. 42.
Theodosius, emperor, manner of his

excommunication by St. Ambrose, xii. 237.
Theodotion, the heretic, part translator of the Vulgate, ii. 138.
Theology, habit of, said by Romish writers to be discursive, as distinguished from faith, ii. 515. a science properly so called, vii. 15. the sorts of men whose interest it is to deny it to be a science, *ib.* differences from other sciences as to its principles, 17. xii. 175. difference from other sciences as to its subject, vii. 20. requires, more than any other science, skill in meaner faculties, 138.
Theophylact, vii. 146.
Thrones, probable that there are distinct ones in heaven for the three Persons of the Trinity, x. 6, 9.
Thunder, final cause of, according to the Pythagoreans, x. 141.
Tiletan, iii. 329.
Time, our apprehension of, determined by motion, iv. 94. v. 61. St. Augustin's and Plotinus' sayings of, iv. 97. a necessary condition of sense, 140. v. 43. finite in nature, v. 42. had no existence before creation, 51. not the consumer, but the supporter of all temporal things, 61. nature of, manifests a duration eternal as its fountain, 61—65. no part of it truly existent but the present, and that never the same, 70. doubt whether it participates more of being or not being, *ib.* coexistence of eternity with, represented and explained, 75, &c. whence the opinion of its endless succession arose, viii. 324. coexistence of created things with, arises from no essential dependence, but from the mere will of God, x. 248, 303. only a *circumstance* of things that are, 250. unity of, only accidental to unity of bodily nature or being, 301.
Time and place, how used by God as witnesses for the conviction of sinners, v. 534.
Tiraquel, viii. 276.
Tithes, why so unwillingly paid, i. 307. due only to kings and priests, viii. 248.
Titus, his early death, i. 179. why he took not the name of *Judaicus*, 183.
Tolet, (cardinal,) vii. 100. his annotations on St. John, ch. xx. ver. 8, viii. 393. his criticism on St. John, ch. vi., vv. 53, 56, to justify the practice of communicating only in one kind, x. 57.
Tradition, how far necessary for faith among the Jews, ii. 385. necessity of, for faith, according to Bellarmine, 532. made the principal rule of faith by the Romish church, vi. 347. the use of, not utterly rejected by the reformers, xi. 178. the error of the extreme opponents of, 179. as used by the Roman church, undermines the whole fabric of faith, xii. 168. English church does not altogether deny the use of it, 169. what that of the primitive church was, and what use was made of it in the ancient councils, *ib.*
Trajan, his unsuccessful siege of the Hagarens, i. 229.
Transcendental precepts in religion, their use, xi. 87.
Transfiguration, a representation of Christ's glory at the day of judgment, x. 189, 214.
Transubstantiation, not supported by the ancient fathers, ix. 598. x. 41. argument for, from God's power to create the same body again and again, refuted, x. 254, &c. shifts of Romanists to maintain it, 258.
Tree of knowledge, poisonous by nature, ix. 58.
Trent, council of, its decrees a barrier to any amendment or unity, ii. 87. makes books canonical which St. Jerome and other fathers reject, 170. decree of, concerning faith without charity, iii. 188. decree of, concerning meritorious works, 318.
Trinity, causes of the disbelief in it, iii. 77. the mystery of, intimated in the first words of Genesis, vii. 68. the reasonableness of the doctrine, 215. (see *Socinians.*) probable that there are real representations of it in heaven, x. 6. how we are to direct our prayers aright unto, 39. the fundamental point of Christian belief, *ib.* what dis-

tinction of offices we acknowledge in, *ib.* absolute lordship indivisibly common to the three Persons of, 112. no operations of, necessary, but the generation of the Son, and procession of the Holy Ghost, 551.

Trismegist, his expression of God's immensity by a *sphere whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere*, explained, v. 54. derived his doctrine of Λόγος from divine tradition, vii. 243.

Trust, (see *Confidence.*)

Truth, affinity of, with goodness, iii. 58. iv. 374. how it differs from goodness, iv. 65. the offspring of unity or identity, v. 219.

—— the first, that into which all faith is finally resolved, ii. 517. the Roman faith not resolved into it, 528.

—— religious, moral discipline necessary for the immediate apprehension of, ii. 407.

Tunstal, (bishop,) x. 55.

Turks, why abundant in fables, and defective in learning, i. 95. their affinity to the Saracens, 234. their interpretation of the principle, that God's will is the rule of goodness, ix. 366. x. 463. superstitious principles of, should shame Christians, x. 445. their obedience exceeds that of Christians, 463. believe that nothing can fall out otherwise than it does, *ib.* the motives of their obedience, *ib.* their gross conceit of heaven, 464. their mercy to dumb animals, and cruelty to men, 567. xi. 77.

Types, mere types distinguished from predictions typically prophetical, and prophetically typical, vii. 26, 51. as conclusive testimonies of Christ as assertive predictions, 49.

Ubiquity, (see *Omnipresence.*)

Udal, mischievous preaching of, ix. 551.

Ulpian, his definition of justice, iv. 136.

Unbelief, treatise on the originals of, iv. 5, &c. distinguished from *misbelief*, x. 439. more common than misbelief, 441. less than the lowest degree of infidelity, *ib.*

Understanding, identical with the will, iii. 58, &c. speculative and practical not two faculties, but have two objects, 72. some things in it not derived from sense, iv. 81, &c. what service the phantasy performs to it, 92, &c. mutual operation of the passive and active, 100, &c. how it attains to general rules, 105, &c. rules to prevent misinformation of, by sense, 111. gives sight to affection, and affection gives edge to the understanding, 425. how not perfected till *it is made all things*, x. 407.

Unity, identity of matter not necessary to unity of body, x. 294, &c. unity of bodily nature distinguished from unity of quantity, the one dependent on uninterrupted continuance, the other not, 301.

—— in the church, all kind of, not to be preferred to dissension, ii. 90. advantages of, xi. 183.

—— of God, consists not in His being any one thing, v. 24. embraces the multiplicity of all things, 26, 30. is the support of all divisible things, 51.

Universal precepts of scripture, how to be limited, ii. 316, &c. instances of limitation of, 317. 325.

Unjust, difference between *unjust* and *not just*, x. 536.

Unregenerate man, what freedom of will he has, ix. 184. what things he may do and believe, 445.

Unworthy, difference between *unworthy* and *not worthy*, x. 523.

Urim and Thummim, not only an emblem, but an oracle of justice, ii. 313. God's promise to direct by, only conditional, 314. the illumination by, when lost, xi. 334.

Usurpers, may be resisted and deposed, xii. 317.

Ut or *ἵνα*, importance and various senses of, vii. 98.

Valentian, his perversion of some passages of scripture to prove it not a perspicuous rule of faith, i. 438. allows that the pope may hold heretical opinions, but cannot propose them *ex cathedra*, 449. his argument that the *light* of God's word must be placed in

the church, as in a *candlestick*, refuted, 478. his attempted evasion of the circle of Roman faith, ii. 120. character of his *Analysis Fidei*, 133. his proof from St. Peter of the necessity of an infallible church authority, 479, 480. his irreverent representation of Christ's authority, 493, &c. his explanation of the authority of private revelations in scripture, 510. his explanation of *dead faith*, iii. 165. and how faith is perfected by charity, 183, note.

Valentinian, emperor, his death a means of Providence for the overthrow of the Roman empire, v. 458.

Valentinus, ix. 162.

Varerius, vi. 269.

Vasquez, his definition of *assent*, iii. 27. his collection of Bucer's opinion of justification from the conference at Ratisbon, 329. his explanation of St. Peter's refusal of the worship of Cornelius, iv. 246. his explanation of the manner of worshipping images as that of co-adoration, 297, 303.

Vatablus, vii. 134. his rendering of Zech. ch. ix. ver. 9, *He is just and having salvation*, viii. 28.

Vates, why applied to all poets, i. 87.

Veil, the rending of, what it betokened, viii. 171, &c. 379, &c.

Velleius Paterculus, his account of Pompey's fate, i. 132.

Venial sins, distinction of, from mortal, not warranted by scripture, iii. 361, note.

Venice, duke and senate of, excommunicated for enactments against the clergy, xii. 112.

Vespasian, his exaltation foretold by Josephus, i. 175. the prodigies which befell him, *ib.* his elevation specially brought about by divine means, 176. his miracles real ones, 177. an instrument of divine vengeance on the Jews, 178. a type of Christ, 181. his remarkable words at the approach of death, 182. extraordinary signs attended his birth, life, and death, *ib.* why he took not the name of *Judaicus*, 183. consequence of his slighting the forewarnings of his death, vi. 127.

Vesuvius, eruption of, recorded by Dion, a fulfilment of our Lord's prophecy of the *signs of the Son of man*, i. 199, 200, 211, &c. vi. 182.

Vice not to be distinguished from sin, vii. 418. a state of slavery, 432. ix. 95, &c. how far involuntary, ix. 124.

Victoria, iii. 333, 342.

Viguerius, his illustration of the hypostatical union between the two natures of Christ, vii. 290.

Vincentius Lirinensis, his three notes of catholicity, xii. 162. what the ecclesiastical tradition was which he commends, 169.

Vindicianus, a physician, pithy answer of, to an indiscreet patient, recorded by St. Augustin, v. 449.

Virgin, falsely objected to by the Jew as a translation of Isaiah ch. vii. 14. vol. vii. 328, 333.

Virtue, how far it is a reward to itself, x. 153.

Visio beatifica, why so called, x. 407.

Vision of God in Christ, the essence of perfect happiness, x. 407. how it will make us like Christ in bliss, 408.

Visions, seen to some, and not to others, i. 70. counterfeited by evil spirits, ii. 57.

Vives, asserts the mixture of gentilism with popery, iii. 215.

Volition, (see *Will.*)

Voluntas, distinguished from *arbitrium*, ix. 92, 174, 259.

Voluntas signi and *voluntas beneplaciti*, the meaning of, v. 154. in what cases the distinction is dangerous, 156. where the distinction is useful, 159. the distinction liable to be charged with making two wills in God, 332. xi. 368. mischievous abuse of the distinction, xi. 368, &c.

Vorstius, his denial of the ubiquity of the divine nature, iv. 351. v. 46.

Vows, parts of divine worship, iv. 272. the making them to saints by Romanists implies more than δουλεία, *ib.* distinguished by Aquinas into matter and form, *ib.* a more especial part of God's worship than sacrifices, and why, 275. imply freewill, ix. 188.

Vulgate, translators of, ii. 139. authorized by council of Trent, 171. support afforded by, to popish errors, *ib.*

Waldemarus, king of Denmark, answer of, to the pope's demand of tithes, viii. 248.
Want, not the only mother of pity, v. 120.
War, God in a peculiar manner called *Lord of hosts* in, v. 459, &c. God's special providence in, shewn by instances, *ib.*
Warnings, imply possibility both ways, ix. 500.
Watchfulness necessary for a Christian, x. 508.
Water, holy, use of, borrowed from heathens, iv. 291, note. consecration and use of, in Roman church, contradictory to scripture, ix. 531. canon for the use of, 532. mistaken ground of the canon for it, 531, 544.
Water of sprinkling, typical of baptism, ix. 534, 543, 545, 603. ceremony of its consecration, 544. use of, 545, 602. was but nine times made under both temples, and expected by the Jews to be consecrated the tenth time by their Messias, 601. analogy between it and the blood of Christ, 603.
Wenceslaus of Bohemia, slain by his brother for professing the Christian faith, v. 541.
Weselius, his opinion of excommunication, xii. 94, 99.
"When Thou hadst overcome," &c. in the *Te Deum*, explained, viii. 438. ix. 517. some causelessly offended with it, *ib.*
Whitaker, Dr., ii. 489, 512. xii. 62.
White, Dr., ix. 136.
Will, identical with the understanding, iii. 58, &c.
Will of God, how always fulfilled, even in the obliquity of human actions, v. 325. distinguished into antecedent and consequent, 332. his consequent will always inevitable where his antecedent will has been neglected, 386. often best fulfilled by being concealed from his instruments, 411. irresistible, yet allows liberty of choice in those subject to it, vi. 130. (See *Decree.*) contrariety between God's secret and his revealed will asserted by some, xi. 368. the secret will of God thwarts not his revealed will, 370.
Willet, Dr., viii. 234.
Wisdom, God's attribute of, v. 83, &c. more excellent than power, 84, 85. how it differs from knowledge, 85. consists of two parts, the proposing a right end and the choosing good means, 86. how infinite wisdom is consistent with contingency of events, 87—93. infinite wisdom most admirably shewn in the harmony of *contingency* with *necessity*, 92. why men are less apt to conceive aright of infinite wisdom, than of other attributes of God, 95.
Wisdom, Book of, its probable author, vii. 250. ix. 416. an excellent paraphrase upon canonical scripture, vii. 250. justly denied to be canonical, 251. not always orthodox, ix. 416. errors in, 422.
Witchcraft, the prohibition of, by Moses, had reference to the coming of Christ, and the allegiance due to Him, ii. 460, &c. less common after the cessation of prophecy, and why, 462. the nature of, 584.
Withrington, censured by the author of the "Prelate and the Prince," for defending the oath of allegiance, xii. 211.
Woman, a true help to man, vi. 227. her subjection to her husband shewn from the manner of Eve's creation and transgression, 233, &c. what is meant by her being *saved by childbearing*, 237. x. 360. the propriety of St. Paul's adding, *if she continue in faith*, vi. 239. her participation in redemption proved by the manner of our Lord's conception, 247. vii. 424.
Women, how some over-imitate their mother Eve, x. 358, &c. immodesty of, in censuring their teachers, 359. ready to listen to doctrine contradictory to the church, *ib.* imitate Eve in meddling with the doctrine of *election* and *reprobation*, *ib.*
WORD, THE, identical in person with the Son of God, vii. 226,

233, 372. x. 220. eternity of, proved, vii. 226—241. why St. John says *the Word*, rather than *the Son of God*, was made flesh, 241—248, 253, 256. used to designate the Son of God by sacred writers before St. John, 243. used for *Jehovah* in the Chaldee paraphrase, 244, 263. incarnation of, more expressly foretold than that of the Son of God, by Isaiah, 256. and in the Psalms, 262. how we are said to be *born again* by the Word, 270. how the gospel is called *the Word*, ib. x. 218. the Incarnation of, the life of the Gospel, vii. 270. did not lose His original essence by being made flesh, 274. was made flesh before He became man, 277, &c. His personal union with the flesh best expressed by St. Athanasius, 282. assumed the human nature as an internal instrument, 288. the title most expressive of the majesty and power of Christ, x. 215, 220. used by St. Paul, Heb. iv. 12, in the same sense as in St. John's Gospel, to denote the person of the Son of God, 216. xi. 395—407. special reason why St. Paul, Heb. iv. 12, calls Christ *the Word of God*, xi. 396. full importance of the title as applied to Christ, 402, &c.

Word of God, how it is wrested into similitude with our corrupt senses, iv. 374, &c. why the same sense of it may at one time please, and at another offend us, 383. how to be tested by prophecy, vi. 348.

Words, active and passive signification of the same words in scripture, viii. 422. importance of noting this distinction for allaying controversies, 423.

Words, strange effects of hasty ones, v. 497, &c. and of a word mistaken, 500.

Works, man rewarded according to, ix. 315, 372, 570, &c. good ones do not merit life, bad ones deserve death, x. 529.

Works, good, essential to constitute the nature of justifying faith, iii. 163, &c. how they perfect faith, 182, &c. 271. the extrinsic form of faith according to Romish writers, 183. how they spring out of faith, 267, &c. St. James' doctrine of justification by, reconciled with St. Paul's, 301. x. 573. do not merit grace, but make us capable of God's mercies, viii. 258. ix. 438. questions concerning the merit of them, do not apply to man before the fall, ix. 14. Romanist sophism concerning, 442. scandalous extravagancies of the rigid opponents of, 551. though not meritorious, yet a necessary qualification for heaven, x. 522, 546, 556. God's justice in rewarding them does not imply their merit, 535. excluded by St. Paul from justification, only as *efficient* causes, 545. their former good works respected by God in the punishment of godly men, 549. necessary for salvation both *necessitate præcepti* and *necessitate medii*, 576. omission of, forfeits salvation, 578. the sense of *Bona opera sequuntur hominem justificatum, non præcedunt in homine justificando*, 581, iii. 291. necessary for justification *quoad præsentiam non quoad efficientiam*, x. 583. every good work a real prayer, 588.

Worldly-mindedness, incompatible with a taste for heavenly things, x. 505.

Worship, divided into civil and religious, iv. 227. in what sense religious worship may be paid to men, 230, &c. that which Satan required of our Lord, the same as what Romanists pay to saints, 234, &c. civil worship without civil commerce, superstitious, 248, &c. (see Λατρεία.)

Wrong, personal, rule for measuring it, x. 73. how to be resented, xi. 16. when to be forgiven, 17.

Xenophon, iv. 34. his history of Cyrus, a confirmation of prophecy, v. 403, &c.

Youth, the season of, why the fittest for remembering our Creator, v. 289. xi. 56.

Zabarel, argument of, to prove that matter could not be created before form, iii. 380, note.
Zachariah, son of Jehoiada, his dying imprecation, vii. 169. xi. 256. seven deadly sins collected in his murder, xi. 265. a type of Christ in the manner of his death, 270. the same with Zachariah son of Barachiah, spoken of by our Lord in Matt. ch. xxiii. 281, &c. what is meant by his being slain between the temple and the altar, 283. why called the son of Barachiah, *ib.* why his death should be instanced by our Lord, 284, &c. the only prophet that died with an imprecation, 285. how his blood cried from the ground like that of Abel's, 286. his body, according to ecclesiastical writers, found whole in the days of Theodosius, 289. the stain of his blood said to have continued in the temple for 200 years, *ib.* whether it was his blood, or Christ's, that was visited on the Jews, 289, &c., 312. his imprecation might not be imitated by Christ's followers, 322.
Zechariah, ch. iii., exposition of its mystical meaning, vol. viii. 329, &c.
ch. ix. 1—9. commented on, and the fulfilment shewn, from authorities not Christian, vol. viii. 7, &c.
ver. 9. most easy of a counterfeit accomplishment, but providentially guarded from it, vol. vii. 27. viii. 21. various translations of, viii. 27, &c.
ver. 9, 10, paraphrased, vol. viii. 17.
ch. xi. 12, 13. various explanations of the difficulties of, vol. viii. 112, &c. how fulfilled in Christ, 122, &c.
ver. 13. doubtful reading of, vol. vii. 134. viii. 112, 125.
ch. xiv. 3. expounded, vol. viii. 495, &c. x. 196. grammatical difficulty of, explained, vol. viii. 495. Josephus the best commentator on it, 499.
ver. 4. fulfilled in our Lord's ascension, and in the wall built by Titus, vol. viii. 500, 501.
Zerubbabel, a type of Christ as king, viii. 327, &c. 335.
Zuares, rigid opinion of, as to the doctrine of the priest's intention in the sacraments, xi. 188.
Zuinglius, not so faulty as schoolmen in the doctrine of original sin, ix. 22. in making God the author of sin, does no more than Aquinas, 23. received the doctrine of God's irrespective decree from Romish schoolmen, 536.

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